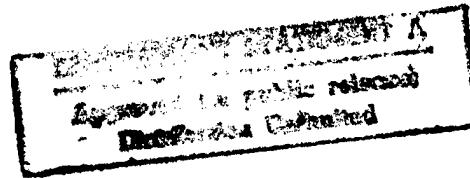


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JPRS 81947

7 October 1982



# China Report

POLITICAL, SOCIOLOGICAL AND MILITARY AFFAIRS

No. 346

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INTERNATIONAL AFFAIRS

'RENMIN RIBAO' ON SOVIET ACTIVITY IN AFGHANISTAN

HK171022 Beijing RENMIN RIBAO in Chinese 16 Sep 82 p 6

[Report: "To Advance Its Southward Strategy, Soviet Aggressor Troops Are Building Military Bases on a Large Scale in Afghanistan"]

[Text] Britain's SUNDAY TELEGRAPH recently published an article, saying the Soviet Union is actively building large permanent military bases in Afghanistan to advance its southward strategy.

Conspicuously, the Soviets are building six new airports in Badakhshan Province in northeastern Afghanistan. This area, though as barren as the moon, is well-known for its strategic importance. That is why the Soviets are determined to build new airports there. Of the six airports, three were built in the high mountain ridges of the Vakhm Corridor, where a Soviet infantry regiment and some air defense forces are stationed. Soviet troops are building large airports equipped with advanced defense systems on a large scale, and whose purpose absolutely is not to deal with Afghan guerrillas who do not possess any aircraft at the moment.

At the same time, Soviet troops are vigorously expanding air force bases in Baghlan, north to Kabul, and in Shindand, Qandahar and Jalalabad, all in the southern or western part of Afghanistan. The Russians have dispatched two SAM-8 missile regiments to the bases and have armed the Karmal troops with SAM-2, SAM-3 and SAM-8 missiles. The disposition of armament by the Soviet Union serves no other purpose than to deal with the most advanced weapons of the West.

In Farah and Herat, both opposite Iran, in Sai er Dai [1049 1422 0108], near the Pakistan border area and in Lashkar Gah, near Qandahar, Soviet troops are also building new airports, some of which have already been put into operation, others still under construction.

Of all the airbases built by the Soviet Air Force in Afghanistan, the most important one is south of the Hindu Kush Mountains, from which the Russians can cover well the large naval forces deployed in the Indian Ocean and threaten all their adversaries there or in the gulf area. These bases are equipped with long-range MIG-27 bombers and a long-range reconnaissance aircraft squadron of 10 MIG-25's. Presently, this squadron is capable of making

inroads into the warm territorial water coveted many years by Peter the Great.

In addition, work has been strengthened and striking improvements have been made in telecommunications between the Soviet Union and Afghanistan, as well as in the construction of supply lines in the past 2 years. For example, a satellite ground station was established on 28 February this year in Kabul to mainly cater to the needs of the southern Soviet military region in Tashkent. A permanent highway-railway bridge has been established over the Oxus River to replace the previous floating bridge. Construction is being expanded rapidly in 2 river ports--Hai La Tan [3189 2139 0982] and Shir Khan--and much permanent equipment has been added. A petroleum-diesel fuel two-duct pipeline is being built from Termez (on the Soviet side of the Afghan-Soviet border areas) to Kabul via Mazr e Sharif and Jia Yi Bao [0502 0122 1027]. Meanwhile, a power transmission line is being erected and its first phase project has extended to Mazar e Sharif. All this large-scale construction far exceeds the needs of the Soviet troops for their "temporary stay" in Afghanistan.

CSO: 4005/1340



## INTERNATIONAL AFFAIRS

### U.S. HOUSE OVERRIDES REAGAN MONEY BILL VETO

OW101054 Beijing XINHUA in English 0823 GMT 10 Sep 82

[Text] Washington, 9 Sep (XINHUA)--U.S. House of Representatives today overrode President Reagan's veto on a 14.2 billion-dollar bill that will keep many federal agencies running through 30 September, the end of the current fiscal year.

This is the first time that the House dealt Reagan a major reversal on an economic issue during his nearly 20-month presidency.

The voting was 301-117, 22 votes more than the required two-thirds to overturn a Presidential veto. Two hundred twenty Democrats and 81 Republicans opposed the President.

The argument between the President and Congress was basically one over "guns or butter." Reagan vetoed the congressional bill on 23 August and called it a "budget-buster," because it contains 918 million dollars more for social-welfare programs than he wanted and only 500 million dollars of the 2.6 billion dollars he sought for defense.

The Presidential veto still can be sustained if the Republican-dominated Senate upholds his action. Senate Majority Leader Howard Baker said today the Senate vote would be held Friday. He viewed the outcome as "uncertain."

CSO: 4000/192

## INTERNATIONAL AFFAIRS

### U.S. SENATE OVERRIDES APPROPRIATIONS BILL VETO

OW111234 Beijing XINHUA in English 1223 GMT 11 Sep 82

[Text] Washington, 10 Sep (XINHUA)--Republican-dominated U.S. Senate today overrode President Reagan's veto on a 14.2-billion-dollar appropriations bill by a vote of 60 to 30, precisely the required two-thirds to override a Presidential Veto.

The House of Representatives overrode the veto by 301 to 117 yesterday. It is the first time that both houses have overturned Reagan's veto on a money bill during his nearly 20-month presidency. The bill was designed to provide funds to run the government for the remainder of the 1982 fiscal year ending 30 September.

In both houses, nearly half the Republicans broke with Reagan and joined democrats in putting the bill into law without his signature.

But the defeat suffered by the president was especially serious in the previously superloyal Senate, where even Reagan's strong supporters like Budget Committee Chairman Pete Domenici broke ranks and flatly refuted the president's contention that the bill was a "budget-buster."

Senate Majority Leader Howard Baker said after the voting that the entire "partnership" between Reagan and Congress was at stake.

However, Reagan said, "I'm not just angry, I'm terribly hurt...but it doesn't change my mind any about what I'm going to do. I intend to veto budget-busting bills and I will continue to do it."

CSO: 4000/192

## INTERNATIONAL AFFAIRS

### 'WEN HUI BAO' COMMENTS ON IRAN-IRAQ WAR

Shanghai WEN HUI BAO in Chinese 21 Jul 82 p 3

[Article by Xia Feng [1115 7364]: "Another Round in the Iran-Iraq War"]

[Text] The Iran-Iraq war has entered its "second stage." Just at the time when the United Nations resolution called for an end to this protracted war, Iran launched its "Ramadan Offensive." In three columns its large army of 80,000 men crossed the border and attacked Iraq's second largest city Basra. In one week's fierce fighting, losses on both sides were heavy.

By the "Ramadan Offensive" the situation in the Middle East, an area already enveloped in the smoke of gunpowder, was rendered even more complex.

In their public pronouncements, Teheran's leaders and officialdom have more than once enunciated the three conditions for ending the war. One condition is that the Saddam regime be run out of office. On the 16th, Khomeini again proclaimed that "unless we defeat the Ba'th Party, our Islamic revolution will go down in defeat and our nation will be disgraced forever." This was spoken with curt finality and left no room for negotiations.

The new developments in the battlefield situation of the Iran-Iraq war attract worldwide attention and cause great alarm in the states along the Persian Gulf. These Gulf states, out of fear of Iran, stand on the side of Iraq, to which country they have been giving quite some support. As the fighting front moves westward, the situation is becoming even more of a threat to the stability and security of the Gulf area, where countries become even more fearful that in case of a victory, Iran will export its Islamic revolution. In the middle of May and in the last week of that month, the foreign ministers of the six Gulf states therefore held three emergency meetings to coordinate their standpoints and appeal to Iran to accept Iraq's cease-fire proposals to end the fighting at an early date.

The two superpowers are of course also paying close attention to these developments. Official quarters in Washington have indicated that they will under no circumstances permit the Iran-Iraq conflict or any other powerful country to threaten the security of the Gulf area and the American interests in that area. Since Moscow has concluded a treaty of friendship with Iraq and at the same time is secretly casting amorous glances at Iran, it is

trying to "step into two boats," with the aim of having both countries look to Moscow for help, but awaiting an opportunity to interfere and expand its influence in the Middle East.

What warrants watching out for is also Israel's movements. "Ai-tan" [phonetic: Begin?] has already openly expressed the hope that the Iran-Iraq conflict continue as long as possible. As the "Ramadan Offensive" detracts world attention, Tel-Aviv may possibly feel that this opportunity frees its hands for an attack into West Beirut.

Men of broad vision in the Arab states have a clear perception of the true features of the two countries, the United States and the Soviet Union, and also understand well the principle that internal disunity dissolves at the threat of external invasion. A certain Kuwaiti newspaper said: "The utter disunity among the Arab states is the reason for the outbreak of the Iran-Iraq conflict, for the Lebanon crisis and for the strained relations between Ethiopia and Somalia." The Egyptian President Mubarak pointed out: "These three conflicts in the Middle East are all due to the rivalry between certain great powers." He urges Iran and Iraq "to resort to reason and stop fighting so as to avoid even greater destruction." This is spoken reasonably.

9808

CSO: 4005/1172

## INTERNATIONAL AFFAIRS

### 'PITIFUL' SITUATION OF NGUYEN CO THACH REPORTED

Harbin HEILONGJIANG RIBAO in Chinese 17 Jul 82 p 4

[Article by Hong Yangzhuang [3163 7122 8369]: "It Is Pitiful Indeed With Nguyen Co Thach"]

[Text] The proclamation of the establishment of a coalition government by the three Kampuchean patriotic anti-Vietnam forces must undoubtedly have been felt by the Hanoi authorities like being hit over the head with a cudgel. However, the unnatural attitude of the Vietnamese Minister of Foreign Affairs Nguyen Co Thach appears like ridiculous mockery when he nonchalantly assumed the posture as if nothing had happened and repeatedly declared to foreign correspondents, that the formation of a democratic coalition government of Kampuchea "was causing Vietnam not the slightest worries," that it was "incapable of changing the actual condition of Kampuchea," and that "we are not regarding this as a serious affair."

This attitude of a minister of foreign affairs of holding himself aloof from the realities of the world unavoidably and immediately arouses misgivings in the minds of the people: is it perhaps really a matter of no consequence to Vietnam that the three Kampuchean patriotic anti-Vietnam forces joined in a great coalition? The answer is no. People have long become accustomed to regard the propaganda machine controlled by the Vietnamese authorities as barometer for Hanoi's politics. Now, did Hanoi's propaganda mouthpiece then take things as calmly as Nguyen Co Thach? Not at all! Before the proclamation of the Kampuchean People's Coalition Government had even formally been signed, there were first enraged outbursts from Vietnamese officialdom, followed by attacks in the Vietnamese THE PEOPLE, using such epithets as "a painted and dolled up corpse" or "entry into a dead-end street" and more of this kind. In these passionate manifestations of slander, even none of the ASEAN countries could escape being called all kinds of things, such as "stooges of China" or being accused of "creating a tense situation in Southeast Asia"! What does all this indicate? It indicates that the Kampuchean tripartite coalition is for the Vietnamese authorities indeed a major affair that cannot be treated casually. Otherwise they would not go into it at such great length and to an extent as to lose sleep over it.

Though the Hanoi authorities have been thrown into a boundless panic, why does Nguyen Co Thach make a pretense of being calm and unruffled? It is because in all the more than 3 years since Vietnam invaded Kampuchea, despite

sending in repeated reinforcements, they not only were unable to win victory on the battlefield but domestically impoverished the people and wasted the country's wealth, so that cries of discontent were heard everywhere. Internationally, the country is facing a thousand accusing fingers and became the butt of much vilification, now standing alone in complete isolation. With the coalition having been established among the three patriotic forces of Kampuchea, the Hanoi regime will have even greater difficulties to endure. Under these conditions, Nguyen Co Thach purposely gives himself the air of being "strong like a bull" in an attempt to hold his ground and boost the courage of his underlines, especially those over 200,000 troops that have invaded Kampuchea.

However, the panic and anxiety of those in authority in Hanoi is in the end being revealed by their propaganda machine, so that people have become clearly aware of the true state of things. It is for this reason that people all over the world exclaim: "It is pitiful indeed with Nguyen Co Thach!"

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CSO: 4005/1172

## INTERNATIONAL AFFAIRS

### VIETNAM'S 'HUNGRY PEOPLE', 'BOAT PEOPLE' DESCRIBED

Harkin Hei LONGJIANG RIBAO in Chinese 24 Jul 82 p 4

[Article by Hua Yun [5478 0061]: "Hungry People, Boat People, Airplane People"]

[Text] If one would want to speak to some "outstanding achievement records in the political career" of the Vietnamese authorities, then it is that they made a mess of the Vietnamese economy and turned a large portion of the Vietnamese into "hungry people"; that they compelled thousands and ten thousands of their people to drift about on the ocean and become reduced to "boat people"; and that recently their "surplus" young people of both sexes by being shipped to the Soviet Union to repay by their labor the debts of the government, are turned into "airplane people."

In the past Vietnam had been one of the large-scale exporters of rice. During peak years before World War II it exported 1.5 million tons of rice annually. However, after the conclusion of the war of resistance against the United States, the Vietnamese authorities wantonly engaged in military aggression and expansion beyond its borders, used 60 percent of its budget for military purposes and brought its national economy to a state of bankruptcy. Commodity prices have been rising continuously and the people found themselves unable to make a living. According to some reports, the number of beggars in Ho-Chi-Minh City has reached 10,000. Among the almost 30,000 small children that rely daily on the care of the centers in Ho-Chi-Minh City, 28 percent suffer from malnutrition. Filling all bellies has become a difficult problem for the Vietnamese authorities. At a recent council of ministers a resolution on the grain supply problem had to admit that the grain supply problem was still Vietnam's greatest difficulty.

The unbearable living conditions, combined with the political oppression by the Vietnamese authorities, compelled the Vietnamese people by the thousands and ten thousands to escape to other countries. This brought on the sharp increase in the number of Vietnamese refugees in the various countries of the world. Among the 10 million refugees of the world, one-tenth are Vietnamese, who are mostly the so-called "boat people" that drifted about on the ocean. From the beginning of this year a monthly average of over 2,000 "boat people" are reaching various parts of Southeast Asia, where they live in the most wretched conditions.

To repay their large debts to the Soviet Union, the Vietnamese authorities have sent several ten thousand young Vietnamese of both sexes to Siberia or other desolate and cold areas of the Soviet Union to participate in reclaiming wasteland. Because these people are shipped out by the planes of the Soviet airline company, they are called the "airplane people." According to certain information, there are now 50,000 Vietnamese of both sexes in the Soviet Union and other such countries. In the next 4 years their number will be doubled. These young Vietnamese, accustomed to a tropical climate, by working in the extremely cold areas of the Soviet Union, will only "be able to earn enough for food, clothing and housing and a small pocket money," most of the salary they earn is used by the Vietnamese authorities as a repayment of debts to the Soviet Union.

The emergence of the Vietnamese "hungry people," "boat people" and "airplane people" is entirely due to Vietnam's postwar policy of "guns before rice." If Hanoi persists in its striving for local hegemony and does not withdraw all its troops from Kampuchea, it will create another who-knows-what kind of "people."

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CSO: 4005/1172



## INTERNATIONAL AFFAIRS

### BRIEFS

JILIN DELEGATION TO JAPAN--At the invitation of the governor of the Miyagi Prefectural Government, Japan, the 6-member Jilin Provincial good-will delegation with its head Yang Zhantao, deputy governor of the Jilin Provincial People's Government, and with its deputy head (Bi Kebin), deputy director of the Jilin branch of the Chinese People's Association for Friendship with Foreign Countries and the Jilin Provincial Foreign Affairs Office, left Changchun 6 September for Japan to make a visit tour in Miyagi Prefecture. Seeing them off at the Changchun Municipal Railway Station were Li Shuren, deputy governor of the Provincial People's Government; (Zhao Dongli), deputy secretary-general of the Provincial People's Government, director of the provincial branch of the Chinese People's Association for Friendship with Foreign Countries and the provincial foreign affairs office; and responsible persons of departments concerned. [Text] [Changchun JILIN Provincial Service in Mandarin 1100 GMT 6 Sep 82 SK]

CSO; 4005/1340

## PARTY AND STATE

### CHEN YUN'S STATEMENT ON SPEAKING OUT ON ISSUES RECALLED

Beijing RENMIN RIBAO in Chinese 5 Jul 82 p 5

[Article by Lu Ming [7773 7686]: "One Must Speak Out on Issues Without Fear of Making Mistakes"--originally appeared in issue No 6 of DEMOCRACY AND LEGAL SYSTEM]

[Text] Recently, I poured over a statement by Comrade Chen Yun. After reading it over and over again, I found it a thought-provoking statement. Comrade Chen Yun said: "During the past several years, the life within our party appeared abnormal. 'Normally, in meetings, everyone wanted to tell only half the truth instead of expressing his views from the bottom of his heart, unreservedly.' This tendency is really very dangerous. Sometimes, one may misrepresent facts in conversations; no one can possibly avoid this. As far as our party is concerned, what worries me is not a slip of the tongue by someone but a dreadful silence. I have met some 'smart guys' who wanted to talk only about 'day-to-day weather' rather than shortcomings and mistakes that are known to them. If this situation is allowed to continue, our revolutionary cause will stand no chance of success and is bound to fail."

The meaning of this statement is clear and easily understandable, a statement in which I could detect nothing that is academically new and perplexing. But a review of past facts and present reality shows that few have seemed willing to heed it or to put it into practice.

For example, no one can avoid a slip of the tongue occasionally. This is a fact that nobody can openly deny. But what does he really have in mind? After noting a misrepresentation of facts, some people responded with alarming commotion and repeated attempts to exaggerate such minor errors to the maximum until misfortune and tragedy befell the speakers. The memory of such tragic events of the remote past remains fresh in us today. In such circumstances, there emerged extraordinary personalities known for their impeccable speech, famous sycophants who retained their positions with opportune and timely speeches, and 'smart guys' interested only in talking about the 'day-to-day weather.' In their minds, the destiny of our country and success or failure of our cause are none of their business. Although this situation has undergone some changes during the past several years, the statement that it has changed irrevocably seems too optimistic to be true.

Furthermore, although on the surface few have disagreed with the clear statement on "encouraging people to speak out without fear of making mistakes and discouraging them from keeping their mouths shut," the reality is that they have countered it with a statement of their own, saying: "We welcome those who have kept their mouths shut and hate those who have talked too much." To them, it seems that a silent world is better than a controversial world, and a silent world is a manifestation of an "excellent situation rather than the reverse." It is very fortunate to note that, during the past several years, this situation has undergone some changes. But the saying that it has undergone a complete change is too optimistic to be true.

The aforementioned statement by Comrade Chen Yun was delivered in 1962. At that time, in the aftermath of the heightened struggle of 1957 against the rightists and the antiright deviationist movement of 1959, an anomalous democratic life prevailed over our party and country. In the end, "smart guys" who wanted to "tell only half the truth instead of expressing their views from the bottom of their hearts" and who were unwilling to expose shortcomings and mistakes began to emerge in increasing numbers. Can we say that this development had nothing to do with the outbreak of the "Great Cultural Revolution," which culminated in bringing long-lasting disaster to the nation as a whole? At that time, Comrade Chen Yun warned: "If this situation is allowed to continue, our revolutionary cause will stand no chance of success, and is bound to fail." This statement is really very meaningful! Unfortunately, few seemed willing to heed it at that time.

Now we must risk any trouble to reaffirm repeatedly this plainly understandable statement on "encouraging people to speak out without fear of making mistakes and discouraging them from keeping their mouths shut," a statement which spells the difference between the rise and fall, the success and failure, of our cause.

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CSO: 4005/1029

## PARTY AND STATE

### FACTIONAL ACTIVITIES REPORTED IN YANGQUAN, SHANXI

#### Incident Described

Taiyuan SHANXI RIBAO in Chinese 13 Jul 82 pp 1, 2

[Article: "Party and Political Disciplinary Action Taken Against Li Suyun and Liang Baoqui"]

[Text] The Yangquan Municipal Party Committee and the Revolutionary Committee have reached a decision to deal severely with the leaders of rebel factions who took the occasion of the interment of the remains of An Ke [1344 0344] to stage raucous demonstrations against the party.

Prior to the "Cultural Revolution," An Ke was acting secretary of the party committee of the Yangquan Chemicals Company. In early 1967, he turned against the party and became commander-in-chief of the "Yangquan revolutionary rebellion command headquarters." On 16 March of the same year, he took over control of the Yangquan Party Committee and committed heinous offenses by inciting factionalism and by instigating armed action, beatings, smashings, looting, house-raiding and kidnapping. At the National Coal Conference in 1968, he was singled out for criticism. In December, 1969, he was incarcerated in a detention house to await trial. In 11 February, 1972, he died as a result of carbon monoxide poisoning. In May, 1981, an investigative report on his case was completed by the Yangquan Municipal Party Committee.

Prior to Tomb-Sweeping Day this year, the family members of An Ke, the cadres at the chemicals bureau, Li Suyun [16]1 4790 7189], a party member; Liang Baoqui [2733 1405 6311], a mine worker at Yangquan; Yang Zhong [2799 1814] and Yan Shouxiang [7061 1343 4382], workers at the Yangquan Steel Plant; and Zhao Pei [6392 0160], assistant manager of the chemicals bureau and a party member, after having engaged in hatching a secret plot over a period of time in cahoots with one another, decided to make use of the occasion of putting the remains of An Ke to rest on Tomb-Sweeping Day to air their grievances and to cry out for justice for and to sing the praises of the deceased in order to cover up their own and An Ke's serious offenses at the time of the "Cultural Revolution" in the service of Lin Biao and Jiang Qing. In order to impart an air of legitimacy to such proceedings, An Ke's daughter requested a deputy secretary of the municipal party committee to announce that the remains

of An Ke would be permitted to be buried at his place of birth, that there would be no ceremonies, that the party would not be involved in the burial rites, that no funeral committee would be organized, that no obituary notices would be posted along the streets and that the chemicals bureau would make motor vehicles available to family members if it was their wish to escort the remains of An Ke to his burial place. However, instead of acting in accordance with the instructions of the municipal party committee, members of An Ke's family posted obituary notices regarding the burial of of An Ke's remains along the main roads in the mining district on 2 April. On 4 April, a memorial service was held in the courtyard of the family quarters of the chemicals bureau and photographs were taken of some of those present at the service. With the purpose of adding a feather to An Ke's cap, they stated in the obituary notice that An Ke "had, during the 10-year period of turmoil, been cruelly persecuted by the 'gang of four' and died a tragic death while in prison," and that "Comrade An Ke had been exonerated by the municipal party committee." The memorial scrolls put up on both sides of the funeral shed stated that An Ke, "having dedicated his whole life to the service of the people, had proved his integrity for all the world to see and distinguished himself in meritorious military service for over half of his lifetime in pursuit of the enemy." The eulogy delivered over a loudspeaker to the accompaniment of funeral music stated that "from time immemorial, loyal officials have always been subjected to persecution...that An Ke had died before his time, that he had been hounded to death during the 10-year period of turmoil, that he had been a victim of false accusations and that it is only now that he has been exonerated." In the morning of 5 April, a funeral procession formed by four motor vehicles carrying over 70 people and 30 floral tributes proceeded from the courtyard of the family quarters of the chemicals bureau amid firecrackers and funeral music and made three stops at the square fronting the headquarters of the municipal party committee, the gate of the No 1 Municipal Hospital and the East Gate of Pingding County. As many as 200 spectators collected to watch the proceedings. When the motorcade reached the lower Nanru Village, sacrificial rites were conducted amid the music of wind instruments and the beating of drums. After the interment of the remains, a stone tablet measuring 1.35 meters in height bearing the words "The tomb of An Ke" was erected in front of the tomb. Since such activities created a most undesirable influence among the masses, the Yangquan Municipal Party Committee and the Revolutionary Committee dealt with those implicated in the planning of this incident in the following manner:

During the "Cultural Revolution," Li Suyun, in cahoots with An Ke, committed a serious offense by actively engaging in acts of rebellion and usurpation of power. Instead of mending her ways, she showed a defiant attitude toward the party. She refused to follow the instructions of the municipal party committee and was the chief planner and organizer of this incident. After being reprimanded by the party organization, she persisted in her ways and refused to admit her errors. She is to be stripped of her party membership.

During the "Cultural Revolution," Liang Baoqui committed serious errors by engaging in acts of rebellion and usurpation of power. She participated on a number of occasions in the planning and direction of armed conflicts and

beatings, smashings, looting, house-raiding and kidnapping. Instead of profiting from her lesson, she harbored resentment against the party. She was one of the chief planners and organizers of this incident. Even after having gone through a period of criticism and education, she still refused to budge from her position. Her attitude is more reprehensible. She is to be placed under observation for 1 year while retaining her administrative position.

During the "Cultural Revolution," Zhao Pei committed serious errors by engaging in acts of rebellion and usurpation of power, by directing armed conflicts and by engaging in beatings, smashings, looting, house-raiding and kidnapping. In addition, he was actively involved in the plotting of this incident. Although he indicated his willingness to do some soul-searching after the party had pointed out to him the errors of his ways, he refused to divulge any inside information concerning a strong of activities. He is to be placed under observation for 1 years while retaining his party membership. However, he is to be stripped of his title as assistant manager of the chemicals bureau.

Yang Zhong and Yan Shouxiang engaged in acts of rebellion and usurpation of power at the time of the "Cultural Revolution." On a number of occasions, they masterminded armed struggles and took part in beatings, smashings, looting, house-raiding and kidnapping. They were actively involved in the planning, organization and direction of this incident. They showed a deplorable attitude by refusing to review their errors. They are to be assessed a major administrative demerit.

The municipal party committee and revolutionary committee instructed units of the party and government to criticize and educate in a serious manner all other persons who were involved in these activities. The leadership cadres and party members who participated in these activities are required to sincerely review their errors at a special meeting.

#### Continued Vigilance Urged

Taiyuan SHANXI RIBAO in Chinese 13 Jul 82 p 1

[Editorial]

[Text] According to a report in today's paper, several henchmen of Lin Biao and Jiang Qing in Yangquan Municipality were found to have committed grievous errors and criminal offenses by engaging in acts of rebellion and usurpation of power and in beatings, smashings, looting, house-raiding and kidnapping. It was further reported that a number of people, seriously afflicted with ideas of factionalism, have been severely dealt with for making use of the occasion of the burial of the remains of their accomplice An Ke to foment factionalism and to stage demonstrations against the party. This political incident is a matter of great consequence and serves to remind us once again that we must, instead of dismissing the incident as one of little moment, maintain a high degree of vigilance against the activities of the remnants of the "gang of four" and that we must remove all obstructionist

elements and eliminate the "three types of people" among the leadership corps regardless of what tricks they play and what eye-catching label they adopt so that we may remove this source of disturbance.

Although it has been over 5 years since the "gang of four" has been put to rout, its remnants have yet to be completely eradicated. Although small in number, they are capable of exercising considerable influence. When the political climate is ripe, they would stir up trouble and create disturbances. The incident which took place in Yangquan was definitely not a simple matter involving a funeral. On the contrary, it offered an opportunity to the "three types of people" to create trouble and to stage demonstrations against the party with a view to staging a comeback, undermining the climate of stability and unity, opposing the lines, principles and policies of the party since the Third Plenary Session of the 11th Party Central Committee and engaging in political acts of sabotage against the decisions of the Central Committee to remove the "three types of people" from among the leadership corps. Political incidents more or less similar to the one in Yangquan have occurred in other parts of the province. There are those who make use of elections for the usurpation of power, who openly take possession of official seals, who band together to create disturbances, who take turns to attack the responsible comrades of the party committees of certain units, who disrupt the normal work schedule, who spread hearsay and rumors, who seek to confuse the public and who incite discord and dissension. Some of these problems have already been dealt with, and every effort is being made to deal with the rest. In any case, we must rely on the masses to deal a serious blow to the acts of sabotage by the remnants of the "gang of four," go about our work of eliminating the "three types of people" in a resolute manner, and refrain from showing leniency toward and appeasing the traitorous elements so as not to make it possible for an endless series of incidents to recur.

Some well-meaning comrades are concerned that bringing up the subject of eliminating the "three types of people" at this time would again create factionalism which would be prejudicial to the maintenance of stability and unity. They cannot be more mistaken. The followers of Lin Biao and Jiang Qing that we seek to eliminate are the elements who cast their lot with the rebels, sought to promote factionalism, engaged in beatings, smashings, looting, house-raiding and kidnapping, and pose a serious hidden threat to the leadership corps at various levels. It is only by getting rid of the "three types of people" that we can eradicate factionalism, promote stability and unity and hold fast to the Marxist line of the party. This is a matter of great consequence affecting the future of our party and our nation. As for those cadres who, under the influence of the erroneous leftist line at the time of the "Great Cultural Revolution," had committed certain minor and major errors at certain times on certain matters, they have already taken stock of their wrongdoings in a serious manner and have made a commitment to mend their ways. Furthermore, they have resolutely adhered to the lines, principles and policies of the party and done outstanding work during the past few years. The cadres and the masses should be made to understand that our attitude toward them should be one of trust and sympathy.

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CSO: 4005/1173

## PARTY AND STATE

### NEED TO SUM UP PAST EXPERIENCE EMPHASIZED

Beijing RENMIN RIBAO in Chinese 5 Jul 82 p 5

[Article by Yue Ping [1471 1627]: "We Must Be Good at Learning Lessons Through a Review of our Experience"]

[Text] Following several years of efforts, we have come up with a comprehensive strategy for the party as a whole. Now is the time for us to review work systematically in all fields. This is an important task we now face.

By summing up experiences, we can discover laws governing the execution of work in all fields, help cadres further raise their ideological and theoretical levels, and come up with correct and effective methods of work in order to broaden the prospect of development on all fronts.

Since the smashing of the "gang of four," and especially since the Third Plenary Session of the 11th Party Central Committee, our party has scored remarkable success in the direction of summing up its own historical experiences. Typical of this achievement is the "Resolution on Certain Questions in the History of Our Party Since the Founding of the PRC" adopted by the Sixth Plenary Session of the 11th Party Central Committee. From this resolution, we can draw correct conclusions on major historical events that occurred over the past 32 years, along with basic experiences and lessons and a guiding ideology which can help us fulfill the historical mission to bring order out of chaos. On the other hand, in the assessment of our party, what has been done by all fronts, departments and localities in the direction of summing up experiences remains far from satisfactory. In the course of carrying out practical work, people of all trades and professions remain far from being able to achieve a completely clear understanding of many ideological and theoretical problems or to reach complete agreement on them. This is why people of all trades and professions, in all departments and localities, have been called on to sum up their own experiences and draw their own conclusions under the guidance of the "Resolution on Certain Questions in the History of Our Party Since the Founding of the PRC" so that they can distinguish right from wrong and reach a consensus on matters at issue. From a narrow point of view, this can be called a process of continuing to bring order out of chaos through the implementation of practical work and of continuing to break the shackles imposed by the force of habit and to eliminate the "leftist" ideological influence. From the broad point of view, this represents a step forward in consolidating and developing important



fruits reaped by our party in the course of summing up its historical experiences. At present, many new developments and new problems have come to our attention on all fronts, problems that need to be solved. Whether we can open up a new frontier of development on all fronts depends mainly on whether we can effectively study such new developments and seek answers to such new problems. Seeking a solution to these problems calls for the application of Marxism as a guide in the course of conducting meticulous investigations and study of the work done by all fronts, departments and localities, for surveying both successful and unsuccessful working experiences from the historical point of view, for a scientific analysis and review of the rich variety of practical experiences provided by the broad masses of cadres and people before they are studied from the theoretical point of view. Doing this will lead us to gain a deeper understanding of which principles, policies, institutions, systems and methods we have adopted over the past 32 years have proved valid and which have proved invalid; which are excellent traditions that should be preserved and which are obsolete conventions that should be discarded. In doing so, we can discover inherent laws independent of subjective imagination and proceed with the task of formulating specific principles, policies and measures to meet the needs of specific enterprises, departments and localities. Man can gradually increase his history-making ability through the process of continuing to sum up his practical experiences. As far as our democratic revolution is concerned, there was no experience or method available to us in this connection at the outset. At the beginning, what we did know was that the revolution was inevitable, although we had no way of knowing how it could be carried out. Only after we experienced one victory after another and one defeat after another, and put them in perspective, did we understand the characteristics of the Chinese revolution and laws governing its development, and sum them up in theoretical works that proved instrumental in leading the Chinese revolution to victory. Only by constantly summing up our practical experiences in socialist revolution and construction can we gradually understand and come to grips with laws governing their development. The 10 key points on the road toward the development of socialist modernization contained in the "Resolution on Certain Questions in the History of Our Party Since the Founding of the PRC" and the subsequently adopted 10-point principles for economic development are conclusions based on experiences we have drawn from both positive and negative examples. During the past several years, we have opened up rosy prospects for agricultural production, which still leads other sectors of the economy in terms of growth. This success should be attributed to our conscientious efforts to draw experiences and lessons from history and our determination to break with the obsolete conventions. Because of their conscientious efforts to sum up their own experiences and draw lessons from them, many other fronts, departments and localities have also scored similarly remarkable successes in work.

To acquire skills in building socialism, we must certainly carry out the following two tasks: first, we must take stock of our own experiences; second, we must borrow experiences from abroad. But in a populous and vast country like ours, rich in revolutionary experience and with special economic features, we must depend mainly on the summation of our own experiences. It is wrong to ignore our own experiences. Any attempt to copy foreign experience mechanically is bound to bring disaster to our country.

At present, conditions are ripe for all fronts to sum up their own experiences, a task that is deemed absolutely necessary.

From the subjective point of view, our party has already adopted a correct guiding ideology. Particularly noteworthy is the resolution adopted by the Sixth Plenary Session of the 11th Party Central Committee, from which we can draw correct conclusions on major historical events and basic experiences that have occurred over the past 32 years, conclusions which form a political premise and an ideological basis for us to analyze realistically practical work on all fronts, to tell right from wrong, and from which to draw experiences and lessons. Although, in the past several years, we have seen various fronts, departments and localities sum up their experiences in varying degrees, at different levels and in different styles, basically, they have failed to come up with any genuinely valuable experiences or correct conclusions. The anomalous political life within the ranks of the party under specific historical conditions and the "Left" deviationist guiding ideology should be mainly blamed for this failure. Today, we live in completely different circumstances, in which we can certainly help all fronts sum up genuinely valuable experiences as long as we adhere to the correct guiding ideology and follow the guidelines of the resolution adopted by the Sixth Plenary Session of the 11th Party Central Committee.

From the objective point of view, some contradictions that exist in practical work have been exposed and made more visible than ever. There must be a process in which the true nature of an objective thing can be exposed. It seems impossible to judge everything correctly before it is subjected to repeated tests. Only after it is subjected to repeated tests and its true nature is fully exposed can we gain a correct understanding of it. Although today our country has passed a long history of socialist construction and has scored tremendous success in this field, we have also encountered many obstacles, suffered miserably from a misguided sense of direction, and subsequently accumulated a rich variety of experiences drawn from both positive and negative examples. This approach has made it possible for us repeatedly to put our successful and unsuccessful experiences in perspective, a process through which we could reach a correct understanding of the true nature of the objective world and do a good job of reviewing our work.

Summing up experiences is a scientific process in which people must take a serious, realistic and scientific attitude, and reject a subjective and unilateral approach.

In this connection, no one can confine the discussion to matters at issue. To every front, department and locality, a review of 32 years of practice will present a vastly complex picture that defies description. In such circumstances, a precise rather than chronological account of our principal and basic experiences calls for application of correct scientific methods. In his work "A 60-Point Method of Work," Comrade Mao Zedong pointed out: "In summing up our past experiences, we must criticize cadres from the epistemological and methodological point of view so that they will wake up and guard against future pitfalls." In this statement, Comrade Mao Zedong gave us a key to success in summing up experiences. This means that a review of our past work, theories,

viewpoint, principles, policies, systems and methods from the epistemological and methodological point of view can lead us to realize which conforms to reality and which does not conform to reality; which is a comprehensive or one-sided view; which reflects or runs counter to objective laws. Through such a survey and analysis of historical practices, we can think everything over from the theoretical point of view. On that basis, we can put our viewpoint, information, basic policy decisions, guidelines for action, measures and methods in excellent perspective. Leaders must get personally involved in every activity. To sum up means to recollect and think over past practical experiences systematically, reflecting a leap from perceptual to rational knowledge. We can rely on no one else but departmental or local leaders to bring about this leap. Leaders must get personally involved in every activity, work and study hard, and do their homework assiduously in the course of summing up their experiences. Only by going through this process can they truly acquire something new and effectively raise their ideological levels and improve the art of leadership. If a leader who is in a position to control the situation as a whole cannot get himself personally involved in every activity, and if he relies on a few penmen to do the job for him, he will find it impossible to put genuinely valuable experiences in perspective. Meanwhile, every leading body must encourage both old and young cadres to join one another in summing up their experiences, so that old cadres will be encouraged to "pass on their experiences to younger cadres and help and guide them through a trial period." As a result of summing up experiences, successful experiences, revolutionary tradition, excellent styles and correct work methods can be handed down from one generation to another. This is an excellent style or method of work for inheriting past traditions and carrying them forward into the future.

We must count on the support of the masses. In other words, leading comrades and the masses must work together to sum up their experiences and must persist in promoting the method of work and epistemological line emphasizing the need to "concentrate ideas from the masses and convey them back to the masses for preservation." In the final analysis, practices in revolution and construction are in fact tasks to be carried out by cadres in coordination with the masses. Fundamentally, summing up experiences means summing up practical experiences gained by the broad masses of cadres and people. Every front has a rich variety of experiences. We cannot rely on only a few persons to collect such a rich variety of experiences. In summing up experiences, we must interview both cadres and the masses, concentrate their ideas for wide dissemination, and bring collective wisdom into play. Instead of listening to one-sided views, we must lend our ears to diverse opinions voiced by people from all walks of life. If we relied on only a few persons to wrack their brains behind closed doors, we would find ourselves unable to come up with anything that conforms to objective reality, nor could we formulate correct principles, policies and measures to serve our intended purposes.

We must prevent people from getting entangled in settling old accounts with their adversaries. To sum up experiences is to review history so that we can distinguish right from wrong and draw lessons from this. But doing so does not mean holding any individual accountable for what he did in the past. To sum up what has happened in the past means to pave the way for the future and to achieve unity in looking forward. Doing so requires us to seek truth from

facts and to break out of the cocoon of private interests in dealing with problems of the past. Talking about historical problems should not be construed as an attempt to discredit or endorse any particular individual. The endeavor to sum up experiences is a matter of prime importance which will have a bearing on the cause of the party and the people's interests. In this connection, everyone must push his personal considerations behind him. We must understand that none of us is perfect, and each of us must sum up his experiences in order to remold his subjective world and increase his ability to know the world. We must uphold and promote what is right and resolutely reject what is wrong. We must tell the truth rather than save face. This is an important principle we must follow in summing up our experiences. This is why, in the course of summing up experiences, we cannot distort facts and cover up contradictions, and why we cannot conceal mistakes from the public while giving full endorsement to our achievements. Experiences are not fictions that can be conjured up by somebody. To convey good experiences but cover up bad ones or make known only bad experiences instead of good ones would hamper progress in learning experiences and lessons, in raising our ideological levels and in improving our work.

In response to the question of how to sum up experiences, the party Central Committee recently gave us a typical example in the direction of handling problems concerning our economic relations with foreign countries, the united front and religions. If fronts, departments and localities can effectively grasp this point and work hard in this direction, they can certainly come up with a rich variety of practical experiences, which will help them raise their ideological and theoretical levels and improve the art of leadership, and which will lead them to adopt correct and effective methods of work designed to open a new frontier of development on all fronts.

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## PARTY AND STATE

### CLASS STRUGGLE IN ECONOMIC SECTOR DISCUSSED

Harbin FENDOU [STRUGGLE] in Chinese No 6, Jun 82 pp 2-4

[Article: "Correctly Understand Class Struggle in the Economic Sector"]

[Text] At present, the struggle against serious crime in the economic sector is gradually deepening. A large number of surprising situations that have already developed make it clear that serious crime in the economic sector, such as smuggling, speculation and fraud, corruption and graft, and the theft of large amounts of state and collective resources, is more severe now than during the "three-anti" movement [anticorruption, antiwaste, anti-bureaucratism] in 1952. It has already seriously corrupted the ranks of our cadres, poisoned the body of our party and state and sabotaged socialist economic construction. If we do not resolutely decide to concentrate our efforts to struggle against this unhealthy tendency, but allow it to continue spreading, then in a few years it will have gotten to the point where we cannot straighten things out. Therefore, carrying out this struggle to uphold communist purity and to oppose corruption among Communist Party members and state workers is an important struggle bearing on the success or failure of the socialist modernization construction of our nation and on the life and death fortunes of our party. Carrying out the present struggle against serious crime in the economic sector is completely correct, timely and in keeping with the desires of the party and the people, and is in the basic interests of the party, the state and the people.

Serious crimes discovered in the economic sector are an important expression in the economic sector of the class struggle going on in our socialist society under the new historical conditions. Pointing out the seriousness, harmfulness and danger of this struggle at this time is not a matter of sheer fabrication or of exaggerating things in order to frighten people, nor is it a matter of raising old issues that haven't been raised for years. The "Resolution on Certain Questions in the History of the Party Since the Founding of the People's Republic of China" passed by the Sixth Plenum of the 11th Party Central Committee clearly points out: "After the exploiting class was destroyed as a class, class struggle ceased to be a major contradiction. But because of internal factors and international influences, class struggle will still exist for a long time within specific bounds, and under certain conditions it can intensify. Even though we oppose the idea of expanding class struggle, we also oppose the notion that class struggle has already been eliminated." Practice has proven that this conclusion is completely correct.

In view of the actual conditions of class struggle in the economic sector at present, the party Central Committee and the State Council have stressed that attacking serious crime in the economic sector is an important task for the entire party both today and for a long time to come. This makes clear how very important the party and the state consider this struggle to be. Some comrades ask if raising the struggle to such heights is not once again taking class struggle to be the key. In fact, our present struggle against serious crime in the economic sector is different in principle from "taking class struggle to be the key" in the past.

The basic premise of "taking class struggle to be the key" was: classes, class contradiction and class struggle exist from beginning to end in all socialist historical stages, and from beginning to end the contradiction between the proletariat and the bourgeoisie is the major one. This premise was basically mistaken. In our nation, along with the completion of socialist remolding, the exploiting class as a class has already ceased to exist, the contradiction between the proletariat and the bourgeoisie is no longer the major contradiction controlling and influencing the other contradictions in socialist society, and class struggle is no longer the central key to all work. The class struggle we are presently engaged in is not like the life-and-death struggle previously waged between two antagonistic classes, the exploiting class and the exploited class, but rather is a unique form of class struggle, a unique legacy of class struggle waged under conditions of socialism, expressing itself as a struggle between the proletariat holding political power and the broad masses, on the one hand, and the remnants of influences of the exploiting class, the various elements that are hostile to socialism and seek to sabotage it and the new exploiting elements and other criminal elements, on the other. At base, this struggle is a remnant form of class struggle.

In terms of the relationship between class struggle and socialist construction, "taking class struggle to be the key" demands that socialist construction and every item of work serve class struggle, with the result that class struggle always replaces everything and assaults everything. Our present class struggle is carried out around a nucleus of socialist modernization construction and serves the purpose of hastening the four modernizations. Attacking serious crime in the economic sector is for the purpose of sweeping away obstacles to the four modernizations. To carry out socialist modernization, we must build a high-level material civilization and a high-level spiritual civilization. If we don't struggle against crime in the economic sector, then not only will the construction of our socialist material civilization be sabotaged, but it will also be difficult to advocate a spiritual civilization as well. Our taking the attack on serious crime in the economic sector to be an important task of the party both today and for a long time to come is not contradictions to our central work of the four modernizations construction. The general goal of realizing the four modernizations will not change. To realize this goal, we must do a good job of work in every area and carry out all kinds of struggle. This includes doing well in taking the attack on serious crime in the economic sector to be an important task both today and for a long time to come. However, the struggle against serious crime in the economic sector is not really the focus of our work, but serves our focus which is the four modernizations construction.

In terms of the position and role of class struggle, the class struggle we are presently engaged in also is not a matter of "taking class struggle to be the key." "To take class struggle to be the key" is to make class struggle the basic or major impetus behind the development of socialist society and the major topic in the political life of our nation, and to believe that class struggle is what determines everything and brings about everything in all socialist historical stages and that by merely handling class struggle well all other problems can readily be solved. This obviously is mistaken. In socialist society, after the exploiting class has been destroyed as a class, our major task becomes to develop the productive forces and to solve the contradiction between the daily increasing material and cultural needs of the people and the backward social production. Class struggle is no longer the major or basic impetus. In terms of the attacks on serious crime in the economic sector we are presently carrying out, although class struggle still fulfills the function of preserving the socialist system of public ownership, strengthening stability and unity and maintaining and hastening the four modernizations construction, it is only one of the forces spurring the development of socialist society.

In terms of the methods adopted in class struggle, the class struggle we are presently engaged in is also different from "taking class struggle to be the key." "Taking class struggle to be the key" is a method used in political movements, in carrying out large-scale mass political struggle and in expanding class struggle. The class struggle we are now carrying out is a method used in handling cases within circumstances in which it is correct to do so by using correct measures which accord with the constitution and the law to reach a solution while resolutely avoiding mass movements. Because of this, under the leadership of the party, it relies on the uniting of expert agencies and the masses, and this has basically prevented any mistakes of the left or the right.

Attacking serious crime in the economic sector is also a serious struggle against capitalist ideological corruption. We should clearly understand that, under the new historical conditions, there truly exists the danger that certain irresolute elements within the party will be corrupted, that there is a danger of "peaceful transformation." In terms of the party itself, the key is the middle and upper level cadres. Because of this, the party Central Committee determined: criminals who seriously sabotage the economy, regardless of who they are, regardless of what unit they belong to, and regardless of how high their position, must all be treated impartially, according to the law, with absolutely no exceptions, and no one can be allowed to shield, speak on behalf of or harbor criminals. We must strictly punish middle and upper level party cadres who commit crimes and put a stop to unhealthy tendencies by educating and redeeming large numbers of cadres. This is a deep desire of the people. But some comrades have developed ideological doubts and wonder if there is still a bourgeois class within the party. This makes it clear again that we cannot underestimate the pernicious influence of Lin Biao and the "gang of four."

Unwavering struggle against the corruption of cadres with responsibility within the party is an important matter which the party Central Committee has been dealing with continually for some years. The older generation of

proletarian revolutionaries on the party Central Committee have always been concerned with this problem. This has been so in light of the severity of the damage caused by the "Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution" and the pernicious influence of the Lin Biao and Jiang Qing counterrevolutionary cliques, and in view of the new historical conditions faced by our party. What was most damaged by Lin Biao and the "gang of four" was our party style. Since the smashing of the "gang of four," and especially since the Third Plenum of the 11th Party Central Committee, the party Central Committee has adopted a number of forceful measures to restore the party style that was seriously damaged by Lin Biao and the "gang of four." Through several years of effort we have truly seen clear improvement, but the problem of improper party style has not undergone a basic change. Under this condition, and in the course of carrying out our policies of opening to the outside and stimulating our economy, certain cadres who have felt the pernicious influence of Lin Biao and the "gang of four" most deeply--those of weak will--have been unable to withstand the attacks of the sugarcoated bullets of the bourgeoisie, and there have even been a very small number of old cadres who in the past did not submit to the armed might of the enemy nor to the suppression by the "gang of four," and yet this time have been downed by capitalist ideology and bourgeois money. Facing this situation, under the new historical conditions, the party Central Committee took special care to remind the entire party to remain highly vigilant against bourgeois corruption and to keep clear heads in three areas: being resolute, clearthinking and accomplished Marxists. How can this be confused with the fallacy that there is a bourgeois class within the party?

Classes produce political parties; political parties do not produce classes. This is the most basic tenet of Marxism. The history produced by the modern bourgeoisie has made it clear that the bourgeoisie, the final exploiting class of mankind, is a product that has, in its long course of development, undergone a series of changes in its styles of production and exchange. Under conditions of socialism, if only we stick to the socialist road, society cannot produce a new exploiting class, and therefore the Communist Party, the party in power, cannot harbor a bourgeois class.

First, economically, the foundation of the socialist productions relations is the socialist system of public ownership of the means of production. In society's reproductive activities, each link--production, exchange, distribution and consumption--receives the guidance of state planning, and this has basically uprooted the foundation that produced the exploiting class. Even though a relationship between commodities and currency still exists in the present stage of socialism, and this relationship is still utilized by corrupt embezzlers, speculators and other new exploiting elements, it is not possible for them to jointly own society's means of production, there is no form of possession of the means of production that can unite them into a social group that can own the labor of another segment of the people, and it is not possible for them to form into a new exploiting class.

Second, in their forms of exploitation, the new exploiting elements do not rely on the means of production to engage in exploitation through the hiring of labor, but rather squeeze through certain holes and gaps in the socialist economy to speculate and defraud and await opportunities to break the law.



The serious criminal elements in the economic sector at present are making use of the gaps which have appeared as our management systems and measures have not kept pace with the implementation of our correct policies of opening to the outside and stimulating our domestic economy; they are making use of the weakness in our political and ideological work and of our failure to make prompt and forceful attacks on the crime which has already caused serious damage to our economy; they are making use of the failure of the party style and the practices of the people to turn fundamentally for the better and of the failure of certain persons of weak will to meet the challenges of the new situation, instead coveting pleasure and being blinded by lust for gain, and other such gaps to commit crimes. It is because of just such things that these new exploiting elements can be exposed and attacked by the party and the people at any time. Once exposed, their exploitation is ended and they are punished in accordance with the law. In the period of socialism, along with the development of production and the continuing improvement in production relations the scope of such criminal activity will shrink. Because of this, these new exploiting elements cannot form into a complete exploiting class.

Finally, politically, the state authority of the people's democratic dictatorship of our nation is firm; it attacks our enemies and protects the people. Serious crimes in the economic sector, such as smuggling, graft, speculation and fraud, are the objects of our attack, regardless of when they occur. We fundamentally will not allow these new exploiting elements to form a social group bringing calamity to the state and the people--to form a new exploiting class.

At present, at the same time we attack serious crime in the economic sector, we must resolutely look into all behavior that violates laws and regulations in other areas. But we certainly cannot allow this struggle to extend wantonly to ordinary workers and peasants and other laboring masses (including the small number of important criminals among them) throughout the vast number of cities and rural areas. We must not lose sight of the seriousness, harmfulness and danger of the various economic crimes and we cannot lose sight of the fact that we can put a complete stop to them; we must be resolute in looking into serious economic crimes and be strict in upholding policies, drawing clear lines between mistakes in work and crime, between unhealthy economic tendencies and economic crime, between smuggling, corruption and graft, and speculation and fraud on the one hand and problems occurring because of imperfections in certain systems and methods developed to carry out the policies of opening to the outside and stimulating the domestic economy on the other, and, when judging criminal responsibility, between personal corruption and matters involving the sacrifice of the good of the whole for the good of a smaller group; in carrying out this struggle, we must not engage in mass movements, and, in the course of handling cases, we must rely on the masses and completely follow the mass line; we must uphold the policies of opening to the outside and stimulating the domestic economy, learning the skills to organize domestic construction and develop economic relations with the outside world, and must pay close attention to the extreme complexity of the environment we face in opening to the outside world, learning the skills necessary to discover and overcome promptly the various negative issues that would seriously damage our cause.

All people throughout the party, the army and the nation are paying close attention to the struggle we are carrying out now against serious crime in the economic sector, and they have high expectations. We must unwaveringly carry out this struggle to the end in accordance with the plans of the party Central Committee and we cannot allow anything to resist, interfere with or hinder this struggle. Without doubt, victory in this struggle will forcefully hasten a basic turn for the better in party style, the practices of the people and social order, and will guarantee the steady progress of socialist modernization construction.

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CS0: 4005/1102

## PARTY AND STATE

### INTELLECTUALS ASSOCIATED WITH DEMOCRATIC PARTIES SURVEYED

Beijing RENMIN RIBAO in Chinese 7 Jul 82 p 3

[Article: "Democratic Parties Take an Active Part in a Survey of Intellectuals"]

[Text] Since last February, in accordance with the CCP Central Committee's proposal that the performance of intellectuals be surveyed, various democratic parties have launched a sweeping campaign to investigate, study, and examine work performed by intellectuals, thus enhancing the implementation of the policy on intellectuals. In an effort to help the Communist Party examine the performance of intellectuals, the standing committees of the central committees of various democratic parties in which the majority of intellectuals are concentrated--including the China Democratic League, the China Association for Promoting Democracy, the Chinese Peasants and Workers Democratic Party, the Jiu San Society, and the Taiwan Democratic Self-Government League--have called meetings to list this work as a focal point of their attention in 1982. They have issued circulars to their local organizations, calling on them to take the initiative to conduct a thorough investigation and study of the selected units where the majority of their members and their associated intellectuals are concentrated, under the leadership of the CCP committees at all levels. Many of their grassroots organizations have held forums, interviewed intellectuals at their homes, and asked them to fill out investigation forms so that they can acquaint themselves with implementation of the policy on intellectuals and promptly report their findings to the Communist Party organizations of their associated units along with suggestions.

Although the leaders of these democratic parties are now mostly of advanced years, they are still eager to participate in such investigative activities. Among those who have attended forums for intellectuals held by various democratic parties were Hu Yuzhi [5170 1937 0037], Chu Tunan [2806 0956 0589], Sakongliao [5646 4500 0055] and Li Wenyi [2621 2429 1355], vice chairman of the Central Committee of the China Democratic League; Ye Shengtao [5509 5110 7118], Xu Boxin [1776 0130 2500], Lei Jieqiong [7191 3381 8825] and Wu Ruonan [0702 5387 1344], vice chairman of the Central Committee of the China Association for Promoting Democracy; Zhou Gucheng [0719 6253 1004], Yan Xinmin [0917 0207 3046] and Shen Qizhen [3088 0366 7201], vice chairman of the Central Committee of the Chinese Peasants and Workers Democratic Party; Pan Shu [3382 5486], Jin Shanbao

[6855 0810 1405] and Sun Chengpei [1327 2110 0160], vice chairman of the Central Committee of the Jiu San Society. Fei Xiaotong [6316 1321 6639], vice chairman of the Central Committee of the China Democratic League and a noted sociologist, is now on a special survey tour of Sichuan and Yunnan. In addition to holding meetings and interviewing intellectuals at their homes, he has printed investigation forms for distribution and has used computers to process them into statistical data which can be used as a basis for analyzing and studying the present status and problems of intellectuals. Peng Dixian [1756 6611 0341], vice chairman of the Central Committee of the China Democratic League, has chosen the league's Sichuan University branch as a typical target of investigation. Wen Jiasi [5113 1367 7475], vice chairman of the Central Committee of the China Democratic League, has interviewed intellectuals in their homes in addition to organizing the investigation for the league's Beijing municipal committee. Huang Dingchen [7806 7844 5256], chairman of the China Zhi Gong Dang; Jia Yibin [6328 0076 2430], vice chairman of the Central Committee of the Guomindang Revolutionary Committee; and Tian Fuda [3944 1381 6671], vice chairman of the Taiwan Democratic Self-Government League, are on an investigation tour of Fujian and Guangdong where they are expected to examine work performed by intellectuals from among the returned overseas Chinese residents and compatriots of Taiwan origin. Sun Qimeng [1327 6386 1322], vice chairman of the China Democratic National Construction Association, has concentrated on holding heart-to-heart talks with middle-aged intellectuals and on investigating and studying the problems that exist in this respect.

The results of the survey conducted during this period show that, since the Third Plenary Session of the 11th Party Central Committee, a great deal has been done and remarkable success has been scored by party committees at all levels in the direction of implementing the policy for intellectuals. But it must also be noted that the development of this work by various localities and units is not well-balanced. Although, generally speaking, the overwhelming majority of members of various democratic parties and their associated intellectuals who were once unjustly, falsely and wrongly charged and sentenced have been rehabilitated, there are still problems that need to be solved. Although appropriate measures have been taken to place intellectuals in jobs or to resolve their existing positions, we still face many problems concerning "how to encourage talented people to work hard and how to exploit them for the best interests of our nation." Although working and living conditions have been improved, some prominent problems, particularly problems concerning the middle-aged intellectuals, still command our attention. Although the vast majority of intellectuals understand that conditions are not yet ripe for seeking a solution to some of their problems, many of the problems can be solved without difficulty if departments and units concerned with their problems work hard in this direction. The facts show that the task of investigating intellectuals, which is regarded by the party Central Committee as a matter of prime importance, is absolutely necessary.

The investigative activities being conducted by the democratic parties have captured the attention of and received support from Communist Party committees and united front work departments at all levels. Leading comrades on party committees of various provinces, regions and units have personally received these investigation groups and have provided facilities for them to carry out

their duties. They have also taken prompt measures to study and solve problems reflected by the investigators. Responsible comrades of Communist Party organizations of the Chinese Academy of Sciences, the Chinese Academy of Social Sciences, the Chinese Academy of Agricultural Sciences and other units have welcomed the investigation groups of various democratic parties during their personal appearances at forums. They have also made efforts to solve some of the problems reflected through the investigations and have begun a search for a solution to others. They have explained to the investigators why some difficult problems cannot be solved for the time being and have pledged to seek their solution in the future. Greatly inspired by this action, vast numbers of members of various democratic parties and their associated intellectuals have become more determined than ever to contribute their wisdom and talent to the four modernizations program.

At present, as the democratic parties' investigation of work performed by intellectuals is still underway, the central committees of some democratic parties are preparing to hold plenary sessions or special meetings so that they can concentrate on discussing some universal problems uncovered during the investigation and provide constructive opinions and suggestions for study by leading departments concerned.

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CSO: 4005/1028

## PARTY AND STATE

### HUNAN NAMES OUTSTANDING INTELLECTUALS AS MODEL WORKERS

Beijing RENMIN RIBAO in Chinese 8 Jul 82 p 4

[Article: "Hunan Nominates 94 Intellectuals as Model Workers"]

[Text] XINHUA, Changsha, 7 July--Today, the Hunan Provincial People's Government presented the honorary title of provincial model worker to some 94 intellectuals, including noted paddy-rice growing expert Yuan Longping [5913 7127 1627] and mathematics Professor Hou Zhending [0186 2182 2185] in recognition of their significant contribution to the building of our material civilization and spiritual civilization.

Among those intellectuals who received the honor of provincial model worker from the provincial congress of advanced collectives of model workers were professors, researchers, engineers, agronomists, physicians, secondary and primary school teachers, writers, editors, reporters, actors, and athletic coaches. The overwhelming majority of these model workers were middle-aged and young professionals.

During the past several years, and especially since the Third Plenary Session of the 11th Party Central Committee, in response to the party's call, these intellectual model workers in their capacity as members of the working class have joined the vast numbers of workers, peasants and other laborers in building a socialist material civilization and spiritual civilization. They are known for their industriousness, tenacity in research, courage in the course of exploring new frontiers, dauntless creative spirit, and outstanding contributions to the fields of various professions. Among them were researcher Yuan Longping of the Hunan Provincial Agricultural Research Institute, a prime mover behind the successful implementation of the research project to crossbreed paddy rice, which has culminated in increasing its output in a vast area of the country; mathematics Professor Hou Zhending of the Changsha Railway College, who has published 13 essays on mathematics, drawing the attention of his counterparts at home and abroad; engineer of the Hunan Pharmaceutical Plant Yu Renhua [3768 0088 5478], who won a gold medal in 1981 for making a breakthrough in research on caffeine quality; Li Deyuan [2621 1795 1254], deputy director of the Guidong County Maternal and Child Care Center, who has distinguished herself by saving the lives of 100 asphyxiated newborn babies and 60 women having difficult labor during childbirth, and performing more than 4,000 birth control

surgeries without a single accident; Ma Anjian [7456 1344 0256], teacher of a special class at the Lukeng primary school in Tangtian Commune, Lingxian County, who has devoted the past 23 years to primary education in that remote mountainous area.

Today, the Hunan Provincial People's Government also presented the honor of provincial model worker to more than 400 workers, peasants and other laborers, and the honor of advanced collective to some 300 advanced units.

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## PARTY AND STATE

### ADVANCED-WORKER EMULATION ACTIVITIES STRESSED

Shijiazhuang HEBEI RIBAO in Chinese 6 Jun 82 p 1

[Commentary by staff commentator: "Broadly, Deeply, Persistently Launch Advanced-Worker Emulation Activities"]

[Text] Since the beginning of this year, not a few localities and units in our province have earnestly implemented the spirit of the provincial labor models conference by mobilizing their staff members and workers to discover the gap between themselves and the advanced, formulating plans to catch up with and learn from the advanced, promoting the experiences of the advanced, and thereby launched various forms of competitive activities in learning from the advanced and earning merits for the four modernizations, and promoted our production. In order to respond to the appeal of the national forum of representatives of labor models and advanced personalities, create an atmosphere in which the advanced are regarded as being glorious and people earnestly strive forward, and comprehensively overfulfill the various tasks of industry, transportation and production in our province, we must more broadly, deeply, persistently launch our mass activities in learning from and catching up with the advanced.

Further improving our understanding of the advanced model personalities and the importance of learning from them is the key to deeply, persistently launching our activities in learning from and catching up with the advanced. At present, there are still leading comrades of certain units who fail to recognize the great significance of the role of the model personalities and of learning from and catching up with them; some believe only in the effect of reward money but not in the promotive role of the advanced model personalities and of learning from and catching up with them; some believe only in the effect of reward money but not in the promotive role of the advanced model personalities and the activities in learning from and catching up with them in respect to the building of our "two civilizations", as they see only material and not people; some are too accommodating and backward and dare not support the advanced, as in certain enterprises there is still the unhealthy practice of isolating and attacking the advanced model personalities. How to treat these advanced model personalities and the activities in learning from and catching up with them is a question which concerns what social customs to establish and whether to promote or delay the building of our "two



civilizations." Whether or not one can consciously respect, protect, support, and learn from the advanced ideas and exemplary deeds of the advanced model personalities is an important yardstick to measure whether everyone has the communist ideological consciousness and forward spirit. Recently, while transmitting the "Reports" of the All-China Trade Union, the Central Committee of the CYL, and the All-China Women's Federation the CCP Central Secretariat pointed out that the advanced model personalities on the various fronts are glorious warriors in the front ranks of the times; their advanced ideas and exemplary deeds are the momentum propelling the cause of our socialist modernization continually forward. The vast ranks of the province's masses and cadres, especially leading cadres, must earnestly study and understand this important directive of the Party Central Committee and, in conjunction with their study of relevant documents of the provincial party committee and implementation of the spirit of the national forum for representatives of labor models and advanced personalities, enhance their perception, rectify their attitude, and consciously, confidently join the activities of learning from and catching up with the advanced.

In order to broadly, deeply, persistently launch our activities in learning from and catching up with the advanced, we must also continue to strengthen our organizational and ideological work. One is to select and establish advanced examples in such learning and catching up. The trades and professions in the province must seriously learn from the experience of construction engineering company No 2 in Handan Municipality and establish their own advanced examples, especially make a point to establish youth and women advanced personalities, according to the characteristics of their own localities, trades and units. A second step is to energetically educate public opinion about the advanced being glorious and learning from and catching up with them being also glorious, and exclude all interference with learning from and catching up with the advanced. On the one hand, we must propagate the advanced ideas and exemplary deeds of advanced model personalities and the good experience in learning from and catching up with them in a manner of seeking truth from facts; on the other hand, we must criticize, satirize, ridicule the words and deeds which seek to isolate the advanced and expose the illegal conduct of retaliating against because of grudge, framing, and attacking advanced model personalities. A third step is to "compare the disparity between ourselves and the advanced and take the advanced as our teachers," and formulate plans to learn from and catch up with the advanced with clear goals, concrete measures, and practical feasibility. A fourth step is to energetically sum up and promote advanced experience by spreading the advanced experience and advanced techniques created and mastered by a few advanced model personalities to the majority of personnel of the same trade and same type of work. A fifth step is to strengthen the training and education of advanced model personalities. We must teach these advanced model personalities to be humble and prudent, to study hard, to link to the masses, and continue to advance; we must actively help them improve their skills and professional capabilities and scientific and cultural level in order for them to become both Red and expert.

The mass activities in learning from the advanced and catching up with the advanced in our province are unfolding, and the situation is becoming better

and better. Party committees at various levels must closely grasp activities in practically learning from and catching up with the advanced as a big matter, give full scope to the roles of the administrative, trade union, CYL, and women's organizations, and realize correct leadership over these activities so that the province's mass activities in learning from and catching up with the advanced can be further broadly, deeply and persistently launched, and thereby push continually forward the building of our province's socialist material civilization and spiritual civilization.

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CSO: 4005/1099

## PARTY AND STATE

### MINORITY CADRES, OFFICIALS INCREASE IN XIZANG

OW141722 Beijing XINHUA in English 1630 GMT 14 Sep 82

[Text] Lhasa, 14 Sep (XINHUA)--The Tibet Autonomous Region now has more than 29,000 cadres from the Tibetan and other minority nationalities, accounting for nearly 60 percent of the region's government officials, four times the 1965 figure.

In recent years, more and more minority cadres have taken up leading posts in Tibet's party and government organs. People of minority nationalities now make up 63 percent of leading cadres at the regional level, and 83 percent of the county party secretaries. All local government leaders and chairmen of the regional and county People's Congress standing committees are of Tibetan or other minorities.

Before liberation there were only 10 scientific and technical workers. Today there are 5,900 such personnel of minority origin, 146 of them engineers. They are playing an important role in local economic construction and cultural affairs.

The majority of the minority cadres are of slave or serf origin, all have received education with government funds after peaceful liberation of Tibet in 1951 and democratic reform in 1959. Since 1977 more than 900 cadres above the county level have been sent by the regional government to institutions of higher learning in Tibet and other parts of the country, raising their professional and leadership abilities.

Gepu Puncogcedain, vice-chairman of the regional committee of the Chinese People's Political Consultative Conference and magistrate of Gyangze in the former local Tibet government, said today's government functionaries are entirely different from former officials. In the past, most of the officials came from aristocratic families. They exercised rigid control and pursued only their self interests and those of their class.

Now, however, the majority of the cadres come from among working people. They serve the masses and are capable of shouldering heavy work loads.

"As a magistrate in old Tibet, I collected taxes, assigned compulsory labor and maintained local public order, that is, kept an eye on what the serfs were

"doing," he said. "I did not care a bit about the masses. Now the county party secretaries and magistrates lead the people in raising production and improving living standards and set up educational, public health, commercial establishments and transport facilities, they are much capable and businer than the former magistrates."

A case in point is 45-year-old Buigung of Tibetan nationality, vice-chairman of the Tibet Regional People's Government and director of the local commercial department. Like his ancestors, he was since childhood a servant to a serf-owner, and had no education.

In 1954 the local party organization sent him to China's interior to study. Two years later, he returned and became a cadre. He was later promoted to a deputy county magistrate and then to full magistrate. Since 1975 he has been in his present post. Though at first he was new to commercial work he gradually learned the characteristics of the local trade. He found more than 80 percent of the commodities on sale in Tibet are imported.

Tibet is vast and transport and communication facilities poor, presenting great difficulties for expansion of commercial work. For this, Buigung and other commercial workers found new sources of supply and established more retail outlets. As a result, since 1979 volume of retail sales for commercial goods has increased more than 10 percent annually.

Since becoming party secretary of Lhzhag County, Gyaco Baibar, 48, has maintained close ties with the people. Trekking through mountains and across water, he has visited two-thirds of the peasant families in his county since 1980. He has helped over 800 of the more than 2,000 he visited establish plans for raising farm production and increasing their income. Though poor in resources, the county has turned into one of the richest in Tibet.

CSO: 4000/190

## PARTY AND STATE

### UNITED FRONT WORK CONFERENCE HELD IN YINCHUAN

Yinchuan NINGXIA RIBAO in Chinese 12 Jun 82 p 1

[Article: "The Party Committee of the Autonomous Region Holds United Front Work Conference To Enhance Understanding and Strengthen Leadership

[Text] Between 23 May and 2 June, the party committee of the autonomous region held an all-region united front work conference at Yinchuan. It received reports on the spirit of the All-China United Front Work Conference and the Ninth All-China Religious Work Conference; studied "A Summary of the All-China United Front Work Conference," the speeches delivered by the leading comrades of the Central Committee at the All-China United Front Work Conference, and "The Basic Viewpoint and Policy Regarding Religion During the Socialist Period in Our Country of the Central Committee; reviewed both the united front work and religious work in our region in the past 2 years; and discussed the condition and tasks of the current united front and religious work. The study helped underscore the importance of the united front work, and clarify its basic principles and tasks. Those present pledged to adhere to the spirit of the instructions handed down by the Central Committee and to work enthusiastically and conscientiously to achieve a new breakthrough in the united front work and raise it to a new height.

Over 180 people attended the conference, including the secretaries of local, municipal and county (region) party committees, the directors of united front departments, the chief of the government bureaus of nationality affairs and religious affairs, the secretaries of party committees of universities and colleges and of communes. Over 1,000 regional and municipal cadres at and above the bureau level heard the report of the conference.

Li Xuezhi, first secretary of the Autonomous Region Party Committee, Hei Boli, its secretary, and Ma Qingnian, a member of its Standing Committee, attended and addressed the conference, Ma Xing, secretary of the Autonomous Region Party Committee; Shen Xiaozeng, deputy secretary; and members of its Standing Committee, including Wang Jinzhang, Ma Sizhong, Chen Jingbo, and Shi Yulin were also present at the conference.

Speaking to the conference, Comrade Li Xuezhi said the key to satisfactory united front and religious work is to strengthen the leadership of the party.

He asked the party committees at all levels to work conscientiously to convey, study and carry out the principles laid down by the Central Committee United Front Work Conference and the Ninth All-China Religious Work Conference, and to place united front work on the agenda of all party committees. He said we must have, must carry out and carry out well the united front work, which is neither "nonessential" nor "inconsequential." To do the united front work well in Ningxia is exceedingly vital because it is located in a strategic area on the antihegemony front, an area of various nationalities. The record of united front work in our region has been commendable, especially since the third plenum of the Party 11th Central Committee when we went through the drive to bring order out of chaos and did a tremendous amount of work to develop and extend the united front. Many nonparty comrades, patriotic personages and religious leaders on all fronts and in all areas have worked tirelessly for the revolution and construction in Ningxia, and some have even sacrificed their lives. Our party and our people will always remember their contributions. We have gone along many tortuous roads in our united front work, and there are lessons for us to sum up. To sum them up is to achieve unity in our work ahead, in working wholeheartedly and harmoniously for the four modernizations and the construction of the "two civilizations." While our major task in current united front and religious work is to uproot the "leftist" influence, we must also prevent the emergence of "rightist" tendencies. We must proceed from reality to resolve the problems at hand.

He pointed out that the top priority of our work for nationalities is to improve the economy and strengthen education on the unity of nationalities. The cadres of our region are from different parts of the country. They should learn from each other, support each other, respect each other, understand each other, help each other, develop warm proletarian friendship and camaraderie, and be united as one to forge ahead. They should work wholeheartedly and unrelentingly to accomplish the glorious and difficult tasks assigned us by the party Central Committee and live up to the expectations of the people of Muslim and Han nationalities.

Addressing the conference, Hei Boli, secretary of the Autonomous Region Party Committee, pointed out that the united front question is one which requires the proletariat to organize and lead its allies in the revolution. We must realize that united front work is still a vital force in this new historical period, a valuable weapon of our party. As long as our party exists and as long as the alliance between the party and nonparty groups exists. The party's united front work will exist. We would not be able to accomplish our three major tasks without strong party leadership and the active participation of hundreds of thousands of people. We must continue to work with the democratic parties and groups on the basis of "everlasting coexistence and mutual supervision." We must cultivate friendship with as many personages outside the party as possible and develop caring and lasting friendly relations with them. Then we must persuade them to play an active role in the program to construct a socialist material and spiritual civilization. He said the situation in the area of religion has been promising because we have carried out substantially our religious policy since the "downfall" of the "gang of four." We must move ahead from now on to implement fully our party's policy of freedom of religious belief and to strengthen and expand the patriotic

political alliance of religious circles of the major nationalities. We must reinforce their patriotic and socialist education and build up their enthusiasm to join in a struggle to construct a modern, strong Socialist state, to achieve the unification of the fatherland, to oppose hegemonism, and preserve world peace.

He pointed out that to do the nationality work well, priority must be switched to economic construction with primary emphasis place on development of production, economic prosperity, and eradication of poverty and backwardness in the minority nationality areas. Party committees at all levels must select commune production teams for investigation and study, to sum up the experience and work out a way to develop the economy. Resolute efforts must be made to do a good job of economic construction and to increase production in the nationalities areas. Cadres and masses of all nationalities should receive continuing education on national unity, oppose all words and deeds which undermine national unity, and rectify those erroneous measures which contravene the policy on nationalities. Party committees at all levels should reeducate themselves on the policy on nationalities by reexamining that policy. They should find solutions to all existing problems, sum up the rewarding experiences, and praise all exemplary performances, and also perform good deeds for the minority nationalities in order to develop the nationality work in the whole region.

After careful deliberation, all the comrades at the conference agreed unanimously that the major tasks of the current united front work are to launch penetrating propaganda on the theory and policy of the united front work of this new era, to raise the party's understanding of the importance of the united front work, to weed out the "leftist" influence, to implement fully the party policy on the united front and relation of nationalities, to carry out earnestly the policy of "everlasting coexistence and mutual supervision" between the party and other democratic parties and groups, to improve cooperative relations with nonparty personages, to bring into full play the role of the people's political consultative conference in political consultation and democratic supervision, to publicize the "nine-point" policy on Taiwan, and to push ahead the united front work of our region.

Yang Xin, director the United Front Department of the Autonomous Region Party Committee, delivered a summing up address at the final session of the conference.

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## PARTY AND STATE

### DENG'S EIGHTH PARTY CONGRESS REPORT ON WORK STYLE REVIEWED

Harbin HEILONGJIANG RIBAO in Chinese 28 Jul 82 p 3

[Article by Chen Ming [7115 6802]: "Party Work Style and Its Concepts-- Rereading Comrade Deng Xiaoping's Report to the Eighth Party Congress on Revision of the Party Constitution"]

[Text] What is the central point of the question of the party work style? It is the question of the relationship between the party and the masses. The reason why unhealthy tendencies damage the popular trust in the party and why they are abhorred by the masses is because such tendencies disrupt the flesh-and-blood relationship between the party and the masses. We are striving for a decisive turn for the better in party work style; its basic manifestation is the consolidation and development in the new historical period of the correct relationship between the party and the masses.

In order to establish the correct relationship between the party and the masses, one first must establish the correct concept of the party, from the standpoint of ideological theory. What is the party? The party is the advanced unit of the working class; it is the core strength in leading our cause. People are accustomed to this kind of answer. This answer do doubt is correct, but it is not comprehensive and still has not answered the question to its end. All along Marxism has considered that history is created by the masses. The working class must rely on the mass strength of its own class as well as of all working people to complete the liberation of all mankind and at the same time fulfil its historical destiny of liberating itself. In the process of creating history, the reason why the party is able to lead the masses is because, and only because, the party is the tool of the masses in striving for liberation.

Some comrades may feel that this use of the term "tool" is unacceptable, but it is a Marxist standpoint. Events must be explained from the beginning. How does a party come into being? It is suited to the needs of the liberation of the working class; it comes into being at a certain stage in the development of the workers' movement. During this historical period in retrospect, Engles pointed out: The working class in various European countries has gone through many years before believing that it can form a class special to its contemporary society and is a fixed class under existing societal relationships. After many more years. "This class consciousness has



led them to form themselves into a specialized political party independent of all old political parties made up of various factions of the ruling class and, moreover, opposed to these political parties." However, in the United States, "this type of consciousness, owing to a purely American characteristic, caused them to speedily adopt the next step in liberating themselves--organizing all of their programs into workers' political parties in order to wrest control of Congress and the White House." (The Complete Works of Marx and Engels, Volume 21, pp 384-385) The basic point which Engels set forth here is this: The establishment of a party is a manifestation of awareness on the part of the working class; it is a "step" that the working class itself takes in liberating itself. It is just this kind of significance which Comrade Deng Xiaoping clearly pointed out in his report to the Eighth Party Congress on the revision of the party constitution. "In contrast to capitalist political parties, workers' political parties do not make the masses into their tools; rather they consciously set themselves as tools of the masses in order to fulfil given historical missions at given periods of history."

The liberation of the laboring masses from beginning to end was a ~~two-sided~~ issue: One is economic liberation, and the other one is political liberation. The working people of our country have been liberated from exploitation, and from a state of being ruled and oppressed. This mission has been fulfilled: During that particular period in history, our party very ably served as the Chinese people's "tool" for seeking liberation. Therefore, we have the best party-to-people relationship in the world. Under the socialist historical conditions of our nation, the given historical mission of the masses seeking liberation is in an economic sense to raise the level of prosperity as quickly as possible, and in a political sense to be truly masters in our own houses. In short, to establish a modern socialist state with a high degree of democracy and a high level of culture. Only by consciously becoming a "tool" in the fulfillment of this new mission can our party and the masses and bring into play the great leadership role toward the masses.

There is great significance in establishing this concept of the party ideologically. It is just as Comrade Deng Xiaoping has said: "Affirming this concept of the party is the same as affirming that the party vis-a-vis the masses has no power to bestow favors, to run the whole show or to force compliance to orders; and as affirming that the party has no power to lord it over the masses." Very clearly, this is the ideological foundation of the aims of the party under the historical conditions of being at the helm of the state to oppose the corruption of communist party members, and to maintain the mission of wholeheartedly serving the people.

What does party in power mean? According to Lenin's usage, "A party in power, thus naturally is an overt party, a party in which one can exercise power after joining." (The Complete Works of Lenin, Volume 30, p 443) This kind of fundamental change in environment and position, especially the immense national power and material wealth which the party to continue to realize its historical role as a "tool" of the masses in seeking liberation. Moreover, it has engendered certain side effects which have caused rigorous tests for the party in handling its relationship with the masses. It should

be recognized that the danger of the party distancing itself from the masses has increased greatly over what it was in the past, and that the possibility that such a distancing from the masses would harm the people has increased greatly over what it had been.

Bureaucratic tendencies of all hues are a widespread problem in the political life of our party and nation. Our present bureaucratic phenomena are caused naturally by their roots in history and in society as well as by the current imperfect system. But for those Lenin called "communists who have become bureaucrats," the ideological roots all stem from a lack of a correct concept of the party and an erroneous grasp of the relationship between the party and the masses. For example, some comrades like to set up in their own places of work organizations which are heavily overstaffed with layer upon layer of people who serve as obstacles between these comrades and the masses. They stand high above the masses and stick to convention. They are dilatory in their work and ignore efficiency. They pass the buck and do not take responsibility. Their facade must be sumptuous. They have forgotten the close contact with the masses and the mass line of serving the people. Another example some cadres who are seriously conceited and complacent, filled with their own importance, who emphasize their own prestige, who are smug and fatuous, who love to flatter, who do not accept criticism, with the result that they become replete with bureaucratic airs and reproach others at any opportunity; they stifle democracy and retaliate. They pose as "saviors of the world;" they set themselves up as lords and masters over the masses. They completely have forgotten that the communist party is the "tool" of the masses in seeking liberation; the party cadre is a "public servant" who works for the benefit of the masses.

There is yet another kind of people; they turn the relationship between the party and the masses upside down. Basically they do not serve the people, rather they misuse the powers granted to them by the masses; they dare to commit all sorts of evil acts which violate the law and discipline. They believe in the precept that "to have power and not use it is to run the risk of losing it;" they see profit and forget righteousness; they are blinded by the lust for gain; they use their positions for their own benefit; they are insatiably avaricious. Or their minds are filled with ideas about special privilege; they become mediocrities who have lost their revolutionary ardor and haven't the slightest sense of political responsibility. This is a type of unusually abominable behavior toward the people; it is a reflection of the decadent bureaucratic work style in our ranks. This is a kind of qualitative change, and moreover, one which should be acknowledged; this originally occurred among an extremely small number of party members and cadre as almost imperceptible changes in their characters. During the catastrophic 10-year destruction of the "Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution," this kind of thing happened all at once and became a problem which became widespread and well-known to the masses. The harmful situation was unusually violent, unusually prominent and striking. If there had not been a resolute rectification, it certainly would have led to the corruption of the cadre ranks in the party.

The work style of a party in power is linked to the major issue of the rise

and fall of the party itself. In order to cleanse our party of the filth and mire splashed upon it during the 10-year upheaval, and to take up the heavy historical burden of leading the people in the realization of Four Modernizations, we must straighten our affairs with resolution and decisiveness. Otherwise it will be insufficient to bolster the people's confidence. At the same time we must carry out scientific ideological education and establish the Marxist concept of the party; otherwise, we will be unable to basically improve and to strengthen party leadership, so as to guarantee the victory in our efforts for a correct relationship between the party and the masses.

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## PARTY AND STATE

### ACCOMMODATION TO OVERSEAS CHINESE PATRIOTISM URGED

Shanghai WEN HUI BAO in Chinese 19 Jul 82 p 1

[Commentary by staff commentator: "Our Career Lies With the Motherland"]

[Text] "Our career lies with the motherland," this is the common hearty expression uttered by the returned overseas Chinese. It reflects the fact that the vast ranks of the returned overseas Chinese are full of confidence in the bright future of their socialist motherland; it is the concentrated expression of their lofty patriotic thinking.

The overseas Chinese have a glorious tradition of patriotism. But the semi-colonial and semi-feudal old China made their status abroad rather low, and they were subjected to all kinds of discrimination; their anxious hope to see their motherland thrive and prosper came to nothing. After the New China was founded, the vast ranks of the overseas Chinese felt proud and elated; they began to link their own destiny closely to the motherland's future. Many of them harbor the determination to help build a prosperous New China, and would rather abandon their comfortable life abroad, overcome all obstacles, in order to return to the motherland to participate in its socialist construction; as a result, they have on different posts of work made precious contributions to the motherland, and not a few have grown to become the technical and professional core cadres of their respective units. During the 10 year internal disturbance, the vast ranks of the returned overseas Chinese were subjected to unfair treatment and undeserved persecution; but they were by no means frightened by these setbacks and difficulties. Instead, they were trained to become even stronger. Since the smashing of the "gang of four," especially since the Third Plenary Session of the 11th Party Central Committee, the vast ranks of the returned overseas Chinese have been able to witness that our party, through its efforts to return to order from disorder, cleansed away the influence of the "Leftist" thinking; its fine traditions are thus now being revived, its policy on the overseas Chinese is now gradually being implemented, and the whole party and the people of the whole country are now united around the Communist Party to forge ahead courageously along the path of socialist modernization. All this has further evoked the excitement of the vast ranks of the returned overseas Chinese to make up their minds to revive China. They consciously share weal and woe with the people of their motherland and struggle hard for the construction of the four modernizations; this has added brilliance to the glorious tradition of overseas Chinese patriotism.

Lenin said: "Patriotism is a most profound feeling toward one's own motherland built up through hundreds of years." In saying that "our career lies with the motherland," are the returned overseas Chinese not showing precisely such a profound feeling?! We must follow the central leading comrades who pointed out "enthusiasm in protecting and bringing into play the love for the motherland and for their native places on the part of the overseas brethren." This requires us to further correct the prejudice in the party and in society against them, to treasure such patriotic spirit on their part, and on the basis of the party's principle in respect to the returned overseas Chinese of "treating them equally without discrimination" really seek to achieve the following: politically fully trust them, in terms of work use them without restriction, with regard to their living conditions pay attention to, and look after them, so that each person is given the chance to exert all his talents and each talent is fully used and their roles are thus brought into full play. In the case of a part of the returned overseas Chinese who really face difficulties in their living conditions, housing, etc., various units must warmly look after them and do as much as possible to provide them with the necessary care. With regard to the leftover problems resulting from the fact that certain returned overseas Chinese were persecuted during the 10 years of internal disturbance, we must treat them seriously and solve them practically. With regard to problems left by history that resulted because of the influence of "Leftist" mistakes prior to the 10 years of internal disturbance, we must also create proper conditions and actively solve them. At present, the concerned departments must grasp well our policy of finding out and returning occupied private houses owned by overseas Chinese, and realizing the provision of private housing for them. Our work on the returned overseas Chinese is an important aspect of the party's overall united front work; it is a big matter directly affecting nearly 100 million people internally and externally, and directly affecting the triumphant realization of the party's three major tasks for the 1980's; we must continue to overcome the influence of the "Leftist" ideology and resolutely implement the party's various policies toward the returned overseas Chinese.

Insofar as the vast ranks of the overseas Chinese brethren themselves are concerned, they must see that while our national economy is gradually getting into the course of steady development it is, in comparison to the developed countries, still rather backward and the people's living standards are by no means very high. We do not mind saying that our motherland is still rather poor, but "being poor, yet ever more steadfast" in our strivings is on the other hand a fine virtue of the Chinese people and a glorious tradition of the vast ranks of the overseas Chinese. We believe that so long as they have such a pure heart to think "our career lies with the motherland," they are bound to create a momentum in provoking our determination to work hard for the country's prosperity. Let us unite together, dedicate our hearts and souls to the same cause, exert ourselves time and again, continue to advance, and make even greater contributions at our respective posts!

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## PARTY AND STATE

### SECOND WESTERN CAMPAIGN OF TAIPING ARMY ANALYZED

Beijing LISHI YANJIU [HISTORICAL RESEARCH] in Chinese No 3, 15 Jun 82  
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[Article by Yuan Shuyi [5373 2579 5030]: "Comments on the 'Best Comprehensive Strategy' of the Taiping Army's Second Westward Expedition"]

[Text] Comrade Zhang Yiwen's [1728 0001 2429] article, "Questions of Strategy in the Later Campaigns of the Taiping Heavenly Kingdom" (hereafter, for short, "Chang's article;" published in ZHONGGUO SHEHUI KEXUE [CHINESE SOCIAL SCIENCES] 1981, No 3) reviews the later campaigns of the Taiping Heavenly Kingdom from the strategic angle. Zhang's article presents many original views, and I have greatly benefited from reading it, but felt that some of his viewpoints would seem to need further inquiry. This writer takes the liberty to humbly present herewith some of his own ideas on the question of the second western campaign of the Taiping army.

1. In the early part of 1860, the Qing government adopted a policy of a "concerted attack by converging forces from the north and the south" and directed the large Jiangnan encampment and the Xiang-Chu army to cooperate in an encirclement of the Heavenly Capital, and to "attack Anqing and also strike at Tongcheng." The Taiping army, in order to extricate themselves from the unfavorable position of having to fight on two fronts, and in order to smash the enemy onslaught and consolidate the revolutionary bases, first concentrated their main force for an attack against the Jiangnan encampment, moved across to mop up the enemy at Suzhou and Changzhou and then continued by marching westward for a formidable pincermovement against the enemy at the upper reaches of the Changjiang River. The last-mentioned is the famous second expedition.

At that juncture the Taiping army as well as the Xiang-Chu army, each contemplating its own overall strategy, concluded that success and failure at Anqing would determine victory or defeat in the campaign. Zeng Guofan said: Anqing is "the gate to Wuchang and Jiujiang," "if the water forces would take that place, they would gain something to attach themselves to as a base," "to cut

off the sources of grain supplies for the bandits at Jinling and to destroy the two-pronged threat of the enemy from the Changjiang and Huai River areas."<sup>1</sup>

"The success or failure at Anqing will determine the fate of our homeland and determine peace or chaos for the whole empire."<sup>2</sup> Hong Rengan considered Anqing to be "the real key to the Heavenly Capital and a guarantee for its safety. If it were to fall into the hands of the 'demons,' it would become the base for an attack against us," and he thought that "any day that there is no trouble at Anqing, that day the Heavenly Capital is safe."<sup>3</sup> In their second westward expedition, the main strategic objective of the Taiping army was to thwart the eastward drive of the Xiang-Chu army and protect Anqing, which constituted such a strategically important place upriver from the Heavenly Capital.

Facing the enemy in the west, what would have been the right strategy for the Taiping army, and what places should their strategy have selected as objectives for attack, in order to achieve their desired goal?

Two entirely different plans were possible. One was to "take Hubei in a coordinated drive," a strategy later actually attempted by the Taiping Army. It had been proposed by Hong Rengan and approved by Hong Xiuquan, and had suggested "to despatch one army group to enter Jiangxi from the south and one army group to attack in the north through Qizhou and Huangzhou for a coordinated joint seizure of Hubei,"<sup>4</sup> the forces to effect their junction at Wuhan and thus relieve Anqing. One plan would have been the one that Chang's article envisages as "the best strategy," namely for the Taiping army's main force to attack the southern wing of the Xiang army and encircle Zeng Guofan in his Qimen encampment, thus forcing the main force of the Xiang army in northern Anhui to move south for the rescue and thereby having to lift the siege of Anqing. The Chang article considers the former plan as not realistic and only the one that Chang envisages as suitable under the actual conditions, i.e. as conforming with the principle "avoid the enemy's main force and strike at his weak points," while it would have also "achieved rescue by attacking the enemy."

This writer believes that a judgment on the advantages of one of the two plans, the "jointly carried out seizure of Hubei" and the "attack against Zeng Guofan's Qimen encampment, must not be guided by subjective factors, but rather by the objective social practice. The criterion for truth can only be sought in social practice. The "avoidance of the enemy's main force" and "relieving the situation by attacking the enemy," are indeed two essential conditions that impose themselves on a weaker army attempting to defeat a stronger army. If we consider it necessary that these two principles must be implemented, then the obvious advantages are undoubtedly with the "joint seizure of Hubei" over the plan to "attack Zeng Guofan's Qimen encampment." If you are inclined to disagree, consider the facts.

Firstly, consider the strategic significance of Wuhan and Qimen.

Wuhun is the capital of Hubei Province, "located in the center of the Empire and a strategically important place guarding the Changjiang."<sup>5</sup> The province of

Hubei, of which Wuhan is the capital, was a strategic base of the Xiang-Chu army. Because, firstly, the Xiang-Chu army "regarded Jiangxi as 'main room of the house,' Anqing as gate to the house, and relied on the two Chu [Hubei and Hunan] as their backing and support. Hu Linyi was well aware of the importance of Wuhan for the Xiang-Chu army: "The land and water forces in their eastward campaign rely on Wuhan as their base. Its large encampment can indeed be relied upon in times of danger. Its garrison need not worry, as its arms and ammunitions, stores of provisions and commodity traffic are all inexhaustible. It is also a good place to recover from wounds, sores, acute and chronic sicknesses."<sup>7</sup> Secondly, the strategic considerations of the Xiang-Chu army were "consolidation of the upper reaches before restoring order in the lower reaches of the Changjiang, and to take all defensive precautions in the three provinces [controlled by Wuhan], before making plans regarding the lower Changjiang area."<sup>8</sup> The "consolidation of the upper reaches" meant, first of all, establishing firm control over Hubei with its capital city of Wuhan, a control comparable to "a jug of water on a high roof" [power to extend easily downward as water flowing off the roof]. Hu Linyi therefore stated: "The strategy of capturing the lower Changjiang area requires that the safety of Hubei must first be assured."<sup>9</sup> Thirdly, from Zeng Guofan's perspective, "Hubei is the protective screen for the central plains [Yellow River valley] and must be guarded at all costs. If there is any remissness about Hubei, reports to the throne from six provinces will no more reach the national capital, and this will be of great consequence."<sup>10</sup> It is for precisely this reason that Zeng Guofan in a letter to a certain Mao admitted: "Jiangxi, Hunan, Anhui, Jiangsu, Shaanxi and Honan, all feel safe when they can be sure that Hubei is safe. Of all my secret worries, this is the biggest."<sup>11</sup>

As to Qimen, the situation was quite different. Qimen was located in the mountainous area of southern Anhui. Apart from being a "pivot between Jiangxi and Anhui,"<sup>12</sup> it had no particular strategic significance. Ou-yang Zhaoxiung, at that time a secretary to Zeng Guofan, regarded Qimen "as an inaccessible place in an area of thousands of mountains."<sup>13</sup> Li Hongzhang judged Qimen as "a place of a topography like a cauldron; almost all military strategists declared it inaccessible."<sup>14</sup> When Zeng Guofan moved his headquarters to Qimen, his major purpose was to make a gesture to satisfy Emperor Xianfeng, because at that time Emperor Xianfeng repeatedly urged Governor Zeng Guofan to move forthwith to take Suzhou and Changzhou "to regain control over the whole situation in the southeast." However, Zeng Guofan determined that "the army at Anqing is of direct significance for the whole situation in the Huainan [Anhui] area. It will foreshadow the future recovery of Jinling [Nanjing]."<sup>15</sup> Zeng therefore refused to follow the imperial order and proceeded according to his original plan. He may have worried about censure for defying an imperial edict and therefore finally made his position clear to the throne as a plan to invade Jiangsu from southern Anhui and therefore having moved to Qimen, pretending to aim at Jinling and at the same time regarding Suzhou as his objective, a perfunctory gesture to indicate that he was indeed performing his duties. The



other reason Zeng gave for his move to Qimen was "to protect the gate to Jiangxi and at the same time give support to Huizhou."<sup>16</sup> Qimen is on the Qishui River, which is a direct connection with Jingdezhen in Jiangxi Province, and Jiangxi is "an area on which the fate of the Eastern Army depends."<sup>17</sup> Huizhou borders on Zhejiang, and the intention of mounting an attack on Huizhou would be to open up the way to the rice supplies of Zhejiang.<sup>18</sup> Because of these reasons, although "having crossed over to the southern bank, the water forces and the army at Anqing were still considered the basic force, as was Commander Run's (this refers to Hu Lingyi) forces remained the basic force in central Hubei."<sup>19</sup> He established "his permanent camp along the river at Anqing,"<sup>20</sup> and regarded his stay in Qimen as merely "having drifted south."<sup>21</sup>

This shows that the strategic significance of Wuhan and Qimen for the Xiang-Chu army was so different as not to be mentioned in the same breath.

Next, let us judge the deployment of military forces at Wuhan and at Qimen.

At that time the entire strength of the Xiang-Chu army was intent on taking Anhui. What were particular features of the deployment of the Xiang-Chu army's military strength in its eastern campaign? The Zhang article says: "Zeng Guofan was physically south of the Changjiang, but his mind was north of the river. The focal point of his attack was north of the river and there was also the focal point of the deployment of his military force." "Compared with the forces north of the river," the forces in southern Anhui were "obviously a weak wing of the Xiang army." This conclusion is correct, speaking only of the area north and south of the Changjiang. However, the problem of deployment of forces at that time was not only one concerning southern and northern Anhui, but also one closely related with Hubei. If only the former is given attention and nothing said about the latter, we can hardly gain a true picture of the whole situation. Considering the two provinces of Anhui and Hubei, the province of Anhui was obviously the focal point of the attack and the military deployment of the Xiang-Chu army. A large army of 5,000 to 6,000 men, long experiences in battle, were almost all concentrated in the area of the Taihu Lake, at Tongcheng, Anqing and Qimen, i.e. in the area of Anqing and its surroundings. Although Hubei was a strategic base of the Xiang-Chu army, its defenses there were extremely "fragile and tender." The defending garrison was small and of inferior fighting strength, it could not have withstood a single blow. When Zhao Liewen, an important aid of Zeng Guofan, saw these conditions with his own eyes, he repeatedly bemoaned the fact: "Our contemporaries know only to fight, but not to defend. If the base is weakly defended, if its outer protection is neglected just a little, when all its roots are uprooted, this indeed is a very dangerous situation!"<sup>22</sup> With a swift and fierce attack the Taiping troops had indeed exposed the conditions of "weakness and unpreparedness" of Hubei, and for this reason Hu Linyi could not but admit:

"As all force is directed toward Anhui, Hubei is left with a feeble defense force. After our defeat at Huoshan, the bandit forces took advantage of our weak defenses. Huangzhou was lost and Wuhan trembled. All that was left at the provincial capital were a little over 100 cavalry and less than 2,000 men of the garrison."<sup>23</sup> "Because the Chu army was stationed at the Anhui border, there were less than 3,000 Manchu and Chinese soldiers and militia left in the cities of Hubei. They could hardly be relied upon to either overcome the enemy, nor even to defend the land."<sup>24</sup> "A stupid chess player makes his move without watching out for his safety, isn't that what I mean?"<sup>25</sup>

Hu Linyi's complaint shows clearly the weakness in the deployment of the Xiang-Chu army. It reveals that compared with northern Anhui, southern Anhui was a weak wing of the Xiang-Chu army, and compared with Anhui, Hubei was a weak wing of the Xiang-Chu army. If we compare the two weak sectors with each other, then Hubei with its capital city of Wuhan was by far inferior to southern Anhui with Qimen as its center. In southern Anhui there was Zeng Guofan personally in command as well as such a fierce, tough and skillful general as Bao Chao, and furthermore the possible support from Hu Linyi in northern Anhui and Zuo Zongtang with his forces stationed on the Anhui-Jiangxi border. As to Hubei, it had neither any "crack forces" nor "good generals." The governor of Hubei, Hu Linyi, a man of good strategic judgment, was campaigning far away, and the man left personally in command at Wuhan was Guan Wen, a mediocre, cowardly man, incompetent in military tactics. As important a place as the provincial capital had no more than 3,000 Manchu and Chinese garrison soldiers and militia, "incapable of attacking and incapable of defense."<sup>26</sup> Other places were even worse "depleted and unprepared."<sup>27</sup> For this reason the Taiping army selected Wuhan as its strategic objective, as more in conformity with the principle of "avoiding the enemy's main force and attacking his weak spots," and more likely to have the effect of "gain rescue by attacking the enemy," than would have been possible by attacking Zeng Guofan's encampment at Qimen.

Apart from the two maxims, "avoiding the enemy's main force and attacking his weak points" and "gain rescue by attacking the enemy," the support of the people is a major contributing factor for victory of revolutionary forces over counter-revolutionary forces. As to this popular support, it was indeed excellent in the provinces of Anhui, Hubei, etc. Even the enemy had to admit that the people supported the Taiping army. "The people don't hate the bandits, but hate the government forces. They don't support the government forces, but support the bandits, frequently showing willingness to serve as spies for the bandits, and that is why the roots of the bandits are in intricate system, and we have not been able to dislodge them for the last 7 or 8 years."<sup>28</sup> However, comparing the two provinces, it is not difficult to find that this was even more the case in Hubei than in Anhui. A most remarkable feature of the condition around Wuhan was that popular forces of insurrection, or forces planning to revolt, well disciplined and organized on a fairly large scale, sprang up all around Wuhan. Most of these popular forces established relations with the Taiping army for

the purpose of planning concerted attacks. In the 10th year of Xianfeng, Hu Linyi called out in alarm: "The provincial capital is essentially empty and rebellious people rise from all directions."<sup>29</sup> In Lingdong and other Villages on the border between Qizhou and Huangzhou, Ho Zhixiang, Sun Xingrong and others "were in secret communications with the Anhui rebels. On escaping back from the bandit encampment, they schemed conspiratorial activities." They fixed a certain data for a popular uprising at He'an in the district of Qizhou to "first capture Qizhou, hold it and build up defenses, then to branch out to capture prisoners, and proceed from Qizhou through Guangji and Huangmei for a direct attack (at Taihu Lake) on the rear communication lines of the Great Camp. If victorious, they would combine forces with the bandits and scurry northward; if defeated, they would take a roundabout route and again return to the bandit encampment."<sup>30</sup> The so-called "rebellious people" of Jingzhou and Fengzhou also "conspired for a joint uprising to first seize the internal transit tax of Anxiang and Fengzhou as an action foreshadowing later rebellions."<sup>31</sup> Hu Lingyi, Governor of Hubei, was aware of the seriousness of the people's fight against Qing rule and therefore put forward the policy: "If the foreign bandits are to be warded off, strict action must be taken against internal bandits."<sup>32</sup> According to the "Confession of Li Xiucheng," on the eve of the westward expedition of the Taiping army, "from De'an County in Jiangxi, and from Suizhou, Yining, Wuyi, Daye, Xingguo, Chishui (Qishui), Wuchang, Jiangxia, Jinniu, Bao'an, Puqi, Jiayu, Tongshan, Tongcheng and other places more than 40 leaders of risings sent people with petitions to Suzhou, offering to join us." After Li Xiucheng led his army into Hubei, he "assembled the people who had petitioned to join from the region of Xingguo, Daye, Wuchang, Jiangxia, Tongshan, Tongcheng, Jiayu, Puqi, all in Hubei, to the number of about 300,000."<sup>33</sup> These conditions, stated by both sides, were rarely seen in Anhui. If the Taiping army would have resolutely pursued its policy of "a concerted attack against Hubei," it would have proceeded smoothly, as it would have received the welcome of the population that was rising in revolt. The army's force would have quickly increased by the contingents from the masses joining the movement, and very favorable conditions would have prevailed for the capture of Wuhan, for quickly overrunning all of Hubei and for frustrating the Xiang-Chu army's plan of an eastward drive.

2. Finally, we must explore the prominent figures of the Xiang-Chu army as they influenced the advance of the Taiping army against Qimen and Wuhan.

When the western expeditionary force on the southern route passed through southern Anhui, they unremittingly "surrounded and attacked" Zeng Guofan's encampment at Qimen. Zeng Guofan said: "This time the bandits on the southern bank, divided into about 3 groups, encircled Qimen in a large enveloping movement. ... Repeatedly dangerous situations developed leaving us no respite."<sup>34</sup> "We passed days of terrifying peril."<sup>35</sup> He judged the strategical intentions of the western expeditionary force on the southern route in their attacks on Qimen as being: "to cut my lines of grain supply and to draw away military strength which would result in our lifting the siege of Anqing. This is the crafty scheme of the bandits; it is very obvious and easy to see."<sup>36</sup>

In the face of this dangerous situation at Qimen, Zeng Guofan "believed that there was hardly reason to hope for survival."<sup>37</sup> After Jingdezhen was lost and all supply lines cut, the outlook became even more gloomy, and he prepared for suicide. He complained of "the shortage of soldiers on the southern bank of the Changjiang" and asked for reinforcements from Hu Linyi on the northern bank. Hu Linyi resented this very much and rashly replied in a threatening tone: "If Commander Di (Zeng Guofan) criticizes the shortage of troops on the southern bank, let Yuanpu (Zeng Guoquan) transfer 10,000 of his men; there is no need for Yuanpu on the northern bank."<sup>38</sup> Although Zeng Guofan himself was in Qimen, he still "viewed the northern bank as of greater importance than the southern bank."<sup>39</sup> He judged that "even if it comes to the worst on the southern bank, it seems at least the provincial capital of Jiangxi can be saved, but if the northern bank is lost, it will hardly be possible to save even Hankou and Wuchang."<sup>40</sup> In his frequent letters to his younger brother Zeng Guoquan he therefore urged to persevere and under no circumstances relax the siege, furthermore to make every effort to avoid a whittling away of the military force besieging Anqing. At one time he thought of "selecting two 'shao' units of trusty soldiers" from among the troops besieging Anqing, but "feared that the withdrawal of good troops from Anqing would leave the rest unable to resist the might of the enemy force," therefore sent notices that "no troops must be transferred to Qimen," adding that "consider orders and put off coming" so as not to "withdraw forces from Anqing."<sup>41</sup> To extricate himself from the helpless situation of Qimen, he was "considering three plans which were jointly deliberated upon:" Firstly, "to hold fast to the three counties of Qimen, Yixian and Xiuning; he himself would move ahead to station himself at Dongliu, while the rest of the force should hold on for 2 more months, then "select a weak spot of the bandits and break through." Secondly, "give up the three counties and rush out in separate columns to destroy the enemy force." Thirdly, "have the whole army break out through the bandit lines and go straight for Suzhou and Changzhou."<sup>42</sup> From these remarks we see that Zeng Guofan at Qimen had no intention of defending the position to the last, nor to induce the main force on the northern bank to come to his rescue. The main idea in all these alternatives was to "move away." There is nothing strange about Zeng Guofan's stress on "moving away," because, precisely as mentioned before, no special importance attached to Qimen for the Xiang-Chu army as far as overall strategy was concerned. Zeng Guofan had stationed himself at Qimen for other special reasons. When holding on to Qimen became too dangerous for his own person and for the Xiang army on the southern bank, he certainly would not try to "save a little to lose a lot" or stake everything on a single throw.

Some generals strongly disagreed with Zeng Guofan stationing himself at Qimen. Although Hu Linyi was finally forced to send Li Xuyi with four battalions to the rescue of Qimen, Hu on the one hand directed Zeng Guoquan, who besieged Anqing, to "make every effort to firmly hold on to his position,"<sup>43</sup> and on the other hand supported Li Hongzhang in his proposal to ask Zeng Guofan to "move his troops away from Qimen as soon as possible," and to "first clean up the interior

of Jiangxi."<sup>44</sup> He even tactfully criticized Zeng Guofan for trying to "save a little and lose a lot," and for disregarding the overall strategic situation. He said: "You were placed in command over the whole upper reaches of the Changjiang, not merely over Yixian and Huizhou. Holding the insignia of high office and occupying a high position requires the strength to shoulder great responsibility. The loss of two or three settlements is not sufficient reason to fret about."<sup>45</sup> Even Zeng Guoquan did not support the course taken by his elder brother. In his book "Record of the Xiang Army," Wang Ding'an said: "At that time all the countryside around Qimen was not safe. The garrison troops held back in their defensive positions. When someone urged Zeng Guoquan to end the siege of Anqing and go to the rescue of the Great Camp, Zeng Guoquan replied: "It is precisely the intention of the bandits to draw away my army, why let myself be fooled? I intend to attack them with even greater force."<sup>46</sup>

At that time Zeng Guofan "swore to hold out to the death" and "did not listen to the remonstrations of all his generals." Zeng Guoquan "provided several tons of rice from Anqing, but mentioned that to hold obstinately to one remote point does no good, and that it would be better to come to the Changjiang and gain control of the overall situation. Zeng Guofan finally followed this advice with a sign of regret."<sup>47</sup> After Peng Yulin received the news, he wrote Zeng Guofan: "You have moved your command to Dongliu. This fulfills the wishes of everyone, and I can't help feeling overjoyed."<sup>48</sup>

All the facts stated above prove in an indirect way that even if the full force of the Taiping army would have attacked Zeng Guofan's Great Camp at Qimen, it would certainly not have resulted in a situation as the Zhang article foresaw, namely that it would have forced the "Xiang army besieging Anqing, compelled by these circumstances, to move south for the rescue of Qimen."

The reaction of the Xiang-Chu army, from the commander-in-chief down to the commanding officers, to the Taiping Army's attempt to launch a "concerted conquest of Hubei" were different. Zeng Guofan said: "The traitors, in their attempts to relieve Anqing, did gain some strategic advantages some 1,000 miles away. In Jiangxi, 1 jun district with 5 shu regions and in Hubei 2 jun with 10 shu were lost to the enemy who thus exerted pressure on the government troops to lift the siege of Anqing. Some critics would have wanted to withdraw our troops from Anhui and direct all attention to the emergency in the central region. ... I believe if the Anhui siege would be lifted, the bandits on the northern bank would stage an invasion of Hubei.... We should therefore still abide by our original idea."<sup>49</sup>

This statement by Zeng Guofan clearly reveals, that the Taiping army's offensive in a two-pronged advance on two separate routes around the enemy forces, caused disagreement and confusion in the enemy camp. That the Taiping army's plan of a "concerted conquest of Hubei" could have such great impact is not at all surprising.

Firstly, as previously stated, Hubei was the strategic base of the Xiang-Chu army, and particularly Wuchang was the foundation of the overall position. The "concerted conquest of Hubei" would bring the flames of war to the rear area of the enemy, threaten his base area, and could have caused the Xiang-Chu army, which was concentrated at and around Anqing, not only to lose its rear support for the performance of its mission and for the successful achievement of its objective, plunging it into the predicament of having no backing in its rear and of being attacked front and rear, but would furthermore have led in the end to be "without any sources of food and ammunition."<sup>50</sup> That is why Zeng Guofan called out in alarm: "I am frightened to death and at a loss what to do."<sup>51</sup> Hu Linyi even described the condition of the Xiang-Chu army as "truly suffering starvation and exhaustion," and as "defeated and dispersed."<sup>52</sup>

Secondly, the defenses of Hubei, despite the extreme strategic importance of the place, were left in an utterly depleted condition. The Taiping army's "concerted attack against Hubei" happened to hit the crucial spot of the Xiang-Chu army. Hu Linyi lamented sorrowfully: "In recent years the bandits' plan was for deployment of their forces far away, but we overlooked the nearby threat, indeed a situation fraught with danger."<sup>53</sup> When the western expeditionary forces on the northern route occupied Huangzhou and directly threatened Wuhuan, "there was not a single soldier or general upriver from Huangzhou, and at Wuchang indescribable chaos reigned."<sup>54</sup> Rich merchants and the prominent gentry all scrambled to get away, big and small officials fled helter-skelter, "there remained only Xiuxiang (refers to Guan Wen, Governor of Huguang) and several high provincial officials in the provincial capital."<sup>55</sup> Guan Wen "vowed to defend his position tenaciously and await reinforcements. Outwardly he showed himself calm, but inwardly he was burning with anxiety."<sup>56</sup> Hu Linyi, who was far away near Lake Taihu, on hearing the news, had mixed feelings of worry and apprehension. He foresaw that "if the Taiping army on the northern route would secretly cross over to the southern bank," the frightening situation would arise of "turmoil enveloping the counties of Xingguo and Daye, and a direct threat arising for the cities of Jiujiang and Wuchang."<sup>57</sup> Hu Linyi was also most perturbed by all signs that the southern army "after having spread through all the districts on the southern bank, lay in wait for an attack on the provincial capital and a link-up with the bandits on the northern bank."<sup>58</sup>

Thirdly, although the command of the Xiang-Chu army had seen through the "joint attack on Hubei" strategy of the Taiping army and their intention of "harassing our hinterland, compelling our army to split into groups, and with unbridled craftiness aiming at lifting the siege of Anqing,"<sup>59</sup> the Taiping army's pincer movement with its "threat to the very vitals" of the government forces, forced the government army to divide its forces in northern Anhui "out of consideration for the emergency in the hinterland." Hu Linyi sent troops under Li Xuyi and Peng Yulin to go to the rescue, and later under his personal direction also had the army group under Cheng Daji "turn back to wipe out the bandits at the upper reaches." This not only compelled the Xiang-Chu army to split its forces and lose the initiative, but also weakened the strength of the hostile forces encircling Anqing.

To counter the strategic intentions of the Taiping army's westward expedition, the crafty old scoundrel Zeng Guofan at that time directed his younger brother Zeng Guoquan as commander in charge to maintain an unrelenting grip on Anqing and refuse to let go. He said: "The intention of the bandit rabble in attacking upstream from several directions is none other than to relieve Anqing. Regardless of whether Wuhan will be lucky enough to survive, the bandits will definitely return with full force to attack Anqing. Even if Wuhan, unfortunately, might be lost, the bandits will branch off a small contingent to take care of Wuchang, but send a large contingent back to attack Anqing, or even in the end give up Hubei and ignore it. Last year when they gave up Zhejiang to lift the siege of Jinling, the bandits could indeed be pleased with themselves, and this year they will no doubt copy what happened before."

"Regardless whether Wuhan can be preserved, the dog rebel (vilifying reference to Chen Yucheng) will return for an attack against Anqing, when the entire course of events will depend on whether the government troops will be able to hold their positions. ... The army of you, my younger brothers, is the key to rise or fall. Don't be frightened and become unsettled if anything is remiss at Wuhan. You must await return of the dog rebel and expect his attack. After you will have held your position, we shall make further plans."<sup>60</sup>

Zeng Guoquan complied with his elder brother's wish and also told him: "I am firmly determined to maintain my position here. Whatever storms may have to be weathered, if you have any instructions, not the slightest diverging rash action will be taken."<sup>61</sup>

Since Zeng Guofan concluded that the "joint attack against Hubei" was to be a copy of the precedent of "giving up Zhejiang to lift the siege of Jinling," he made up his mind not to withdraw troops from the siege of Anqing to aid Hubei, but on the contrary urged the troops to vigorously attack Anqing and compel the Taiping army to quickly turn their attention away from the upper reaches and toward the lower reaches of the Changjiang, where he would engage them in a decisive battle. He staked what he called the "reversal in the entire course of events" on encircling Anqing in order to attack the reinforcements that would be coming to its aid.

Was the "joint attack on Hubei" really a "copy of a precedent"? The Zhang article affirms it, assuming that it was "simply mechanically applying the successful experiences of 'encircling Wei to rescue Zhao' practiced during the second capture of the Great Jiangnan Camp," and therefore derided by Zeng Guofan as "copying a precedent." Considering the historical facts, this thesis is open to question. From a strategic point of view, the "joint attack against Hubei" looks indeed in some ways similar to the second capture of the Great Jiangnan Camp, namely as an "avoiding the enemy's main force and striking at his weak points" and "achieving a rescue by attacking the enemy." However, there are also differences. The second capture of the Jiangnan Camp was connected with

a "giving up Zhejiang to lift the siege of Jinling," but the "joint attack against Hubei" strategy did not provide for a "giving up Hubei to lift the siege of Anqing." The author of both strategies, Hong Rengan, tells us in his autobiography: In the second capture of the Great Jiangnan Camp "the focal point was the lifting of the siege of Jinling, but there was no importance attached to any gain of territory," therefore also the strategic decision to "turn the flags homeward and escape to safety" from Hangzhou, but in the "joint attack against Hubei" strategy it was a combination of gaining territory and relieving Anqing, and when pursuing the "joint attack against Hubei" emphasis was on capturing and holding both banks of the Changjiang to as to enlarge and perpetuate our base area there."<sup>62</sup> The two strategies, one by the Taiping army of "jointly attacking Hubei" and the other by the Xiang-Chu army of maintaining the siege of Anqing and fighting the expected reinforcements, are two directly opposed strategies. It was a contest of resourcefulness and strength between the contestants, which ended in the defeat of the Taiping army and the victory of the Xiang-Chu army. The reason was not a problem of any "joint attack on Hubei" strategy, but merely the ineffectual execution of the originally determined strategy by the commanders in chief, Chen Yucheng and Li Xiucheng.

Firstly, the western expeditionary armies should and could, but did not carry out the seizure of Wuhan. Already as early as in the 6th year of Xianfeng, Hu Linyi pointed out that an occupation of Wuhan by the Taiping army endangered the rule of the Qing Dynasty. He said: "If the bandits occupy Wuhan, it would enable them, to the north, to infiltrate Honan and Zhili, and jeopardize the district in and around the Imperial Capital, and in the south, to close off Jiangsu Province, relying on the strategic strength of Jinling," therefore "Wuhan must not be allowed to fall."<sup>63</sup> A comparison of the military strength at the time shows that the western expeditionary force was absolutely capable of seizing this important city on the upper reaches of the Changjiang. According to the original plan, the northern and southern route armies of the western expeditionary force were to make a concentrated attack on Wuhan in April of the 11th year of Xianfeng. The northern route army under the command of Chen Yucheng, occupied Huangzhou in March, drawing close to Wuhan. At that time the northern route army had about 20,000 to 30,000 men (Parkes says 20,000-30,000, Wilson says 80,000, Lindley says 50,000). The Qing garrison of Wuchang was below 3,000 men, and even together with those in and around Hankou, there were only about 10,000 men. The northern route army had battle-proven crack troops, but the Qing garrison were incompetent Manchu and Chinese soldiery and militia. Even in the situation brought about by the failure of the southern route army to keep its appointment for the joint attack, the northern route army was absolutely capable of capturing Wuhan in one swoop. The southern route army occupied Wuchang County in June, closing in on Wuhan. In spite of the fact that by that time the land forces of Li Xuyi had entered the provincial capital and the water forces of Peng Yulin had blockaded Jiangxi, so that the actual strength of the Qing army at Wuhan had been strengthened, the southern route army still had the capability of capturing the city. Reasons for this assumption are: firstly, the



southern route army was known to have been 100,000 men strong (according to Hu Linyi's statement), and in military strength of an overwhelming superiority. Secondly, the southern route army had pushed through all prefectures and counties on the southern bank, the northern route army was still controlling Huangzhou, De'an and other important strongpoints on the northern bank, Li Xiucheng was already in contact with Lai Wenguang who had been left stationed in Huangzhou, and although the western expeditionary force had no naval forces, it could have made use of the civilian junks and small Hubei row boats along the river,<sup>64</sup> to break the enemy blockade and achieve "close contact between north and south and a merger of the two forces."<sup>65</sup> Thirdly, the southern route army received an enthusiastic response from the masses that were rising up in southern Hubei; alone in the matter of recruitment, new soldiers to the number of 300,000 men were taken on. It is a pity that since Chen and Li failed to cooperate strategically, they were unable to stage the joint attack on Wuhan, which had been agreed upon, and that they gave up on their own initiative to go ahead each independently and exploit the great chance of seizing Wuhan alone. One reason for it was that they had been "cautioned" by the British, Parkes and Gingell, and were afraid of a diplomatic conflict, or that they might be attacked by the British warships (actually Great Britain had no intention and power to interfere on the upper Changjiang). Another reason was that they lacked an overall point of view, each having his own objective in mind. One had all his mind focussed on the outcome of the struggle for Anqing, and one had his mind on administering the rich and populous Jiangnan area. They might have been bodily in Hubei, but their minds were either in Anqing or in Jiangnan. As a result they suffered defeat when victory was within their grasp. On realizing the situation, Zeng Guofan, who thus had been greatly alarmed for nothing, exclaimed: "Wuhan is safe ... it seems our undertaking can be carried through."<sup>66</sup>

Secondly, the western expeditionary army should and could, but did not engage in unrestrained operations in the Hubei area. At that time the defense of Hubei was "depleted and unprepared," "officials thought it wise to flee at the first bad rumor, and soldiers and officers were cautious and undecided, missing their good chances."<sup>67</sup> The masses of the lower strata were in great numbers either actively preparing to rise up or already in the midst of a struggle of resistance. As to the region around Hubei, there were the insurgent armies of Li Yonghe and Lan Dashun in the west, haunting the area between Bashan and Dushui. In the north, the Nian army was active in the great central plains. Some of them, the groups under Jiang Tailing, Weng Huaiyi and others, also entered Hubei from Honan and occupied Guanghua and Laohekou, closing in on Xiangyang. If the western expeditionary army would have fully exploited these advantageous conditions, relied on the support of the masses, linked up with the Nian army for joint action, would have kept in contact with the rebel armies of Li and Lan, would have swept through and length and breadth of the area north and south of the Changjiang, they would certainly have turned the rear area of the Xiang-Chu army into their frontline and threatened the very

existence of the enemy forces. Zeng Guofan admitted: "The interior of Jiangxi and Hubei is infested. Not only are the bandits on both banks about to merge, but our sources of food supply are more and more drying up, and the armies in southern and northern Anhui are in great peril."<sup>68</sup> It is a pity that nothing more came of the plans of the western expeditionary army than that they blew into Hubei like a stormwind and again blew out of Hubei like a stormwind. Li Xiucheng committed a strategic mistake when he hurriedly withdrew from Hubei. Chen Yucheng fell precisely into Zeng Guofan's deadly trap when he over-anxiously returned to take care of the situation at Anqing.

Thirdly, the western expeditionary army should and could, but did not wipe out the effective strength of the Xiang-Chu army. The "joint attack on Hubei" by the western expeditionary army prompted the enemy groups under Li Xuyi, Peng Yulin, Hu Linyi and Cheng Daji, one after the other, to turn back and go to the rescue of Wuhan. The western expeditionary army should have sought a chance to engage them in battle and unceasingly wipe out their effective strength while they were on the move. This would have been an indispensable condition for a consolidation of their own positions in Hubei and also would have forced the Xiang-Chu army to withdraw from Anqing. On the battlefield in Hubei at that time, the western expeditionary army held the initiative in the fighting because they were engaged in strategic advances and attacks. Moreover, many errors were committed by the Xiang-Chu army in the direction of their campaign. Hu Linyi therefore had to admit: "In the present direction of military operations in the upper reaches of the Changjiang, much went markedly wrong. It is only that this was disbelieved and mistaken by the bandits."<sup>69</sup> In Hu Linyi's opinion, the main errors committed by the Xiang-Chu army in its military directions were: 1. "Excessive cautiousness;" the army only "tailed after the enemy in pursuit," but never advanced on the enemy," therefore had "no military exploits, but only the hardship of rushing about to no avail."<sup>70</sup> 2. "By splitting up into groups, the army's strength was diminished, and it was difficult to keep control over the various parts, as Li Xuyi did when he laid siege to De'an and also stationed troops at Huanggang, Xinzhou and other places."<sup>71</sup> 3. Stationing troops behind solid city walls, associating them with the so-called "city wall bandits," but rendering them incapable of "field operations" and "rapid battle deployment." If the western expeditionary army would have exploited an enemy's blunders, concentrated its military strength to attack the enemy's weak points, it would have been absolutely possible for it to steadily destroy the enemy's effective strength, but they did not go about it this way. Hu Linyi said that Chen Yucheng's intention was "only to send his crack troops so far on a trial expedition, then move directly downstream to Anqing to attack the encircling army from the rear."<sup>72</sup> Li Xiucheng, however, mistook Cheng Daji for Bao Chao, and "hearing of the strength of the Hubei forces, withdrew."<sup>73</sup>

If the western expeditionary army would have seized Wuhan and would have engaged in operations over the length and breadth of Hubei, would have

engaged in operations over the length and breadth of Hubei, would have unceasingly wiped out the effective strength of the enemy, then Zeng Guofan's so-called "always adhere from beginning to end to the original plan" could not have been carried out. He would have been forced to withdraw the troops from the siege in Anhui in consideration of the emergency in the hinterland. Zhao Liewen, who had been Zeng Guofan's most important advisor, once said: "If Li Xiucheng would have brought his army into the southern district of Hubei and further threatened Wuchang, alas, the Anhui siege would have had to be given up!"<sup>74</sup> Some critics have often regarded this as a statement after the fact by Zhao and as an insufficient evidence. However, similar ideas prevailed among some of the leaders in the Xiang-Chu army. Zeng Guofan once told his younger brother: "If the army group under Li Xiucheng "should reach Ruilin, then Jiujiang, Xingguo, Wuning, Yining, Tongshan, Tongcheng, all these places are in great danger and the siege of Anqing will have to be lifted. Zuo Zongtang should well consider this. I myself am worried about it."<sup>75</sup> It is a pity that the enemy gave this situation "deep consideration" while the Taiping army was very "light-hearted" about it. The victory that was within grasp, the only chance of certain success, was finally allowed to slip by due to the ill-advised judgment of certain people. In this way, years of valiant struggle the length and breadth of both banks of the Changjiang, the plan of a junction of forces at Wuhan and of lifting the siege of Anqing, all had come to nothing. This historical tragedy is grievous and painful and makes one heave quite deep sighs!

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#### FOOTNOTES

1. Zeng Guofan [hereafter ZGF], "To Li Shenfu" in "Correspondence of ZGF, Vol 101, pp 27-28.
2. ZGF, "To Fourth Brother Chenghou" in "ZGF's Family Correspondence" Vol 2, p 217.
3. "Confessional Statement by Hong Rengan" in "Collection of Taiping Documents" pp 554-555.
4. Ibid.
5. Hu Linyi [hereafter HLY], "To Brother Bao and Feng" in "Collected Writings of HLY" Family Correspondence, p 25.

6. Zhao Liewen, "Letters to Commander ZGF," in "Diary of Nengjing Jushi" Vol 9, in "Abridged Compilation of Taiping Historical Material" Vol 2, p 193.
7. "On Hu Linyi" in "Famous Ministers of Merit" Vol 1, p 17.
8. ZGF, "Reply to Hu Gongbao" in "Correspondence of ZGF" Vol 11, p 18.
9. "On Hu Linyi" in "Famous Ministers of Merit" Vol 11, p 7.
10. ZGF, "Reply to Wang Meicun" in "Correspondence of ZGF" Vol 11, p 30.
11. ZGF, "Reply to Mao Jiyun" in "Correspondence of ZGF" Vol 24, p 6.
12. ZGF, "Reply to Jiang Weigen" in "Unpublished Letters and Drafts by ZGF" p 118.
13. Ouyang Zhaoxiung, "Shui chuang chun yi" pp 1-2.
14. Xue Fucheng, "Li Fuxiang Joining the ZGF Camp" in "Yong'an biji" Vol 1, p 12.
15. ZGF, "Report on the Overall Situation" in "Collected Works of ZGF" Vol 2, p 331.
16. ZGF, "Reply to Mao Jiyun" in "Correspondence of ZGF" Vol 11, p 36.
17. HLY, "Reply to Liang Meilou" in "Works of the Late HLY" Vol 80, p 6.
18. HLY, "To Governor Zeng" in "Works of the Late HLY" Vol 81, p 10.
19. ZGF, "Reply to Peng Xueqin" in "Correspondence of ZGF" Vol 11, p 20.
20. ZGF, "Report on Revision of Regulations" in "Collected Works of ZGF" Vol 2, p 340.
21. ZGF, "Reply to Hu Linyi" in "Correspondence of ZGF" Vol 11, p 34.
22. Zhao Liewen, "Diary of Nengjing Jushi" in "Abridged Compilation of Taiping Historical Material" Vol 3, p 213.
23. HLY, "Reply on Insufficient Military Strength in Hubei" in "Collected Works of the Late HLY" Vol 45, p 1.
24. HLY, "Statement on the Victory of the Chu Army at Anqing" in "Collected Works of the Late Hu Linyi" Vol 45, p 4.

25. HLY, "Reply to Zuo Jingxiang" in "Collected Works of the Late HLY" Vol 81, p 5.
26. HLY, "To Inspector Zeng" in "Collected Works of the Late HLY" Vol 81, p 7.
27. HLY, "To Yang Hou'an" in "Collected Works of the Late HLY" Vol 74, p 5.
28. "Wang Xinbo to ZGF" in "Unpublished Letters and Drafts by ZGF" Appendix 1, p 314.
29. HLY, "Reply to Li Xi'an" in "Collected Works of the Late HLY" Vol 74, p 7.
- 30, 32 HLY, "Report on Captured Prisoners" in "Collected Works of the Late HLY" Vol 42, p 3.
31. HLY, "To Inspector Zeng" in "Collected Works of the Late HLY" Vol 74, p 8.
33. "Confession of Li Xiucheng" in "Compilation of Taiping Documents" pp 513-515.
- 34, 36. ZGF, "On the Military Situation of the Bandits on the Southern Bank" in "Collected Works of ZGF" Vol 2, pp 374-375.
35. ZGF, "Reply to Mao Jiyun" in "Correspondence of ZGF" Vol 15, p 26.
37. ZGF, "To Ji Junmei" in "Correspondence of ZGF" Vol 16, p 210.
38. HLY, "To Li Xi'an" in "collected Works of the Late HLY" Vol 78, p 4.
39. 40. ZGF, "To Li Xi'an" in "Correspondence of ZGF" Vol 13, p 6.
41. ZGF, "To Brother Yuan" in "Family Correspondence of ZGF" Vol 7, p 297.
42. ZGF, "To Zhang Kaizhang" in "Correspondence of ZGF" Vol 14, pp 30-31.
43. HLY, "To Yang Hou'an" in "Collected Works of the Late HLY" Vol 80, p 4.
44. Cf. HLY "To Zeng Shixiang" in "Collected Works of the Late HLY" Vol 81, p 10.
45. HLY, "Reply to Zeng Shixiang" in "Collected Works of the Late HLY" Vol 81, p 10.
46. Wang Ding'an, "Record of the Xiang Army" Vol 6, pp 17-18.
47. Ibid., Vol 6, p 19.

48. "Letters of Peng Yulin to ZGF" in "Abridged Compilation of Taiping Historical Documents" Vol 6, p 211.
49. ZGF, "Reply to Wan Huxuan" in "Correspondence of ZGF" Vol 16, pp 5-6.
50. ZGF, "Reply to Liu Xiaxian" in "Correspondence of ZGF" Vol 15, p 15.
51. Ibid.
52. HLY, "Request for Support from Other Provinces" in "Collected Works of the Late HLY" Vol 44, p 2.
53. HLY, "To Yan Danchu" in "Collected Works of the Late HLY" Vol 75, p 9.
54. HLY, "To Zeng Shixiang" in "Collected Works of the Late HLY" Vol 81, p 5.
55. "Peng Yulin to Zeng Guofan" in "Abridged Compilation of Taiping Historical Material" Vol 6, pp 206-207.
56. HLY, "Report on Victory of Chu Army" in "Collected Works of the Late HLY" Vol 45, p 4.
57. HLY, "To Li Zhongcheng" in "Collected Works of the Late HLY" Vol 82, p 4.
58. HLY, "On Progress of Military Operations" in "Collected Works of the Late HLY" Vol 47, p 2.
59. HLY, "On Insufficient Military Strength in Hubei" in "Collected Works of the Late HLY" Vol 45, p 1.
60. ZGF, "To Brother Yuan" in "Family Correspondence of ZGF" Vol 7, p 213.
61. Zeng Guoquan, "To Hu Gongbao" in "Collected Works of Zeng Guoquan" Vol 2, p 11.
62. "Collection of Taiping Documents" p 554.
63. HLY, "To Brothers Bao and Feng" in "Collected Works of the Late HLY" p 25.
64. Hu Linyi said: "There are too many civilian junks and also small Hubei row boats along the river bank. This is very disquieting." in "Reply to Provincial Commander Yang" in "Collected Works of the Late HLY" Vol 81, p 5.
65. HLY, "To All Commanders and Camps" in "Collected Works of the Late HLY" Vol 83, p 3.

66. ZGF, "Reply to Hu Gongbao" in "Correspondence of ZGF" Vol 14, p 27.
67. HLY, "To Zeng Shixiang" in "Collected Works of the Late HLY" Vol 81, p 10.
68. Zeng Guoquan, "Reply to HLY" in "Collected Works of Zeng Guoquan" Vol 2, p 11.
69. HLY, "Reply to Duo-du-hu" in "Collected Works of the Late HLY" Vol 82, p 5.
70. HLY, "Reply to Li Zhongcheng" in "Collected Works of the Late HLY" Vol 81, p 9.
71. HLY, "Report on Military Operations" in "Collected Works of the Late HLY" Vol 46, p 4.
72. HLY, "Reply to Zeng Shixiang" in "Collected Works of the Late HLY" Vol 81, p 7.
73. Zhao Liewen, "Diary of Nengjing Jushi" in "Abridged Compilation of Taiping Historical Material" Vol 3, p 375.
74. Ibid, p 374.
75. ZGF, "To Brothers Yuan and Ji" in "Family Correspondence of ZGF" Vol 7, p 212.

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## PARTY AND STATE

### COMMENTS ON 1898 REFORM MOVEMENT REPORTED

Guangzhou XUESHU YANJIU (JOURNAL OF ACADEMIC RESEARCH) in Chinese No 3,  
20 May 82 pp 95-102

[Article by Shi Ji [0670 6549]: "Uphold the Marxist Viewpoints and Reexamine the 1898 Reform Movement"]

[Text] The 110th birthday of Liang Qichao and the 85th anniversary of the 1898 Reform Movement will fall on the coming year. The Guangdong Provincial Federation of Social Sciences Societies and the editorial department of Beijing LISHI YANJIU (Historical Research) will jointly sponsor an academic seminar on the reform movement and the role of Kang Youwei and Liang Qichao next year. To promote and encourage more active study of the role of Kang and Liang in the capitalist reform movement in the modern history of China, this journal has invited some of the history professors and scholars as well as those comrades who are teaching and studying history to a discussion forum on the reform movement and the role of Kang and Liang. All the comrades who attended the session spoke out freely and expressed their own views. The following are the excerpts of a few valuable points.

Only by uprooting the "leftist" influence and studying anew the reform movement could we show the true colors of the 1898 Reform Movement and the role of Kang and Liang.

Comrade Chen Xiqi of the Zhongshan University History Department said: Before the Liberation, many capitalist class scholars were either students or friends of Kang and Liang, and yet nearly nobody did any serious study of the 1898 Reform Movement and its representative figures.

Our party recognized long ago that the 1898 Reform Movement was a link in the history of the anti-imperialist and anti-feudalist revolutionary struggle of the people of modern China. Comrade Mao Zedong pointed out in his own writings that the 1898 Reform Movement, the Opium Wars and the 1911 Revolution "represent the resolute opposition of the Chinese people to subjugation by the imperialists and their lackeys," and regarded Kang Youwei and Yan Fu as the



advanced Chinese "who tried to seek truth from the West before the emergence of the Chinese Communist Party." Our academic circles have made considerable headway in this area of research after the founding of the PRC.

At the time there was, however, a popular view that the significance of the 1898 Reform Movement lies in its failure which proved that reformism is an exercise in futility. While recognizing the movement as progressive, it was nevertheless viewed as basically reactionary and played down. This shows the assessment of the 1898 Reform Movement at that time was contradictory. Tang Sidong, one of the leaders of the 1898 Reform Movement, was rated higher than Kang Youwei, while the overall rating of Liang Qichao who was very influential both during and after the 1898 Reform Movement was not high at all. By today's standard, some of those views are unfair or even overcritical of our predecessors.

There was no historical research to speak of during the 10 years of the "Cultural Revolution." At the height of their power, the "gang of four" alluded that historians and reformers were reactionary.

After the downfall of the "gang of four," people of the academic circles have proposed to reassess the 1898 Reform Movement, some have challenged the traditional view that the 1898 Reform Movement was a reformist movement, while others have called for further study of Liang Qichao's role in history. We have the responsibility to pursue more penetrating study of this important event in modern China. We should proceed from objective facts instead of abstract concepts to analyze realistically this particular issue by means of the Marxist viewpoint and method.

Comrade Zhang Qiguang said that in spite of the remarkable research done in the past, especially in the past 30 years, by the academic circles on the ideologies of Kang and Liang, we must admit that the overpowering ideological influence of the "left" on politics and theoretical studies had arrested the progress of the research which has consequently fallen short of our expectations in both scope and depth. For instance, reformism was once equated to revisionism. Whenever the ideologies of Kang and Liang came up for discussion, they were brutally attacked as representing the reformist school of thought. Since it was wise to hold one's views a bit toward the "left," the research, analysis and evaluation of the positive aspect of the ideologies of Kang and Liang have been somewhat superficial. Their patriotism and revolutionary spirit have never received the amount of attention they deserve, and their place in history and impact on reality have been played down or even written off. The research on the ideologies of Kang and Liang therefore requires complete elimination of the pernicious "leftist" influence on the one hand and adherence to the four basic principles on the other.

Comrade Fang Zhiqin of the Guangdong Academy of Social Sciences said that due to the "leftist" influence, the research on the reform movement led by Kang and Liang so far has been halfhearted, cowardly, and unable to accord it a place in history it deserves.

The Chinese bourgeoisie, its bourgeois intellectuals and the capitalist form of production are the products of imperialist aggression in China. At its inception, the Chinese bourgeoisie was represented by leaders who launched the reform movement to oppose imperialism and feudalism. Without going through what are known in European history as the rise of the third estate and renaissance, they campaigned the moment they mounted the political stage for "national salvation and survival," hoping to make China as prosperous and strong as the West by installing a Western form of constitutional monarchy and a capitalist economy. The development imparted a real "modern" flavor to the history of modern China which had hitherto been "medieval." For without a new form of production--the capitalist form of production and the new classes--the bourgeoisie versus the proletariat--the course of history would still be replete with recurrent cycles of "stability" and "disorder," "prosperity" and "decline," and dynastical changes. The incursion of foreign capitalism, the anti-colonist struggle of the Chinese people, the China's involvement in the world capitalist system were really something new which began to emerge in China some 40 years prior to the 1898 Reform Movement. But these were brought about by external forces. Apart from these external stimulants, the reform movement, on the other hand, was due to a decisive internal factor--the emergence of national capitalism and the bourgeoisie. The reform movement was the first nationwide political movement of the Chinese bourgeoisie who pledged to bring about capitalist reforms in China. Superficial as it was, the movement was something new which had never happened in China before. It was an important turning point in her modern history, marking out the period from this point on to the time of the "4 May" as an era dominated by classical old bourgeois democratic revolution. Should we overlook such an important historical event and deny its position in history?

Only by viewing the reform movement as an important link in the wave of the old bourgeois democratic revolution in our country could we sum up correctly the historical experience ranging from the reform movement to the 1911 Revolution.

Comrade Chen Zhoutang of the History Department, South China Teachers College, said the Chinese bourgeoisie had performed two political feats during the period of the old democratic revolutions in China, namely, the 1898 Reform Movement, a bourgeois reform campaign, and the 1911 Revolution, a bourgeois revolutionary drive.

The reform movement led by the bourgeoisie has earned different labels. It has been called the "1898 Constitutional Reform," the "1898 Modernization," or a

"Bourgeois Reformist Movement." Personally, I think it should be called a "Bourgeois Patriotic Modernization Movement." This helps to indicate the class identification of the movement, highlight its outstanding features: patriotism and modernization, and cover its overall framework and real substance. To call it a "reformist movement" as had been done in the past is obviously derogatory, "Reformism" was a late 19th century anti-Marxist reactionary ideological drive, a reverse historical movement designed to defraud the workers and bust the workers movement. The 1898 Reform Movement was the first political reform campaign led by the Chinese bourgeoisie before Marxism reached China. It campaigned for "national salvation and survival," prosperity and military might on the one hand and emancipation of the mind to shake off the bondage of reactionary decadent ideology on the other. It was a progressive movement in keeping with the historical trend. Secondly, "reformism" owed its class identity to privileged workers, a bunch of scums of the working class, while the 1898 Reform Movement owed its class identity to a nascent national bourgeoisie. Although it represented the upper stratum of the bourgeoisie, its call for national independence and the development of capitalism still agreed with the wishes of the bourgeoisie. Moreover, "reformism" sprang up during the working class movement, while the 1898 Reform Movement was a political drive launched by the nascent bourgeoisie the moment they mounted the political stage. Since the two differed in their class identity, historical background and historical roles, they had nothing in common, and should not be lumped together. The fact that the bourgeois reform movement has been named a reformist movement by some comrades in the academic field represents a different academic point of view which should be put to open discussion. It is said that Chen Boda proposed in 1933 to name the 1898 Reform a reformist drive. We may do some research to see if it had any impact in the academic circles.

Comrade Yu Yanguang of Jinan University said the 1898 Reform was once pronounced "unworkable in China because it was a reformist movement." Those comrades who share this view always refer to Lenin's criticism of reformism to support their argument. That cannot stand close scrutiny. In the first place, Lenin aimed his criticism at the reformist inclination among the proletarian revolutionary forces. That is to say, in its struggle with the bourgeoisie, the proletariat cannot take the reformist road, nor can it have illusions about the bourgeoisie. This is absolutely true. In the case of replacing feudalism with capitalism, certain feudal institutions and social strata could still be preserved. The history of the world abounds with examples of a feudal society gradually turned into a capitalist society by going through certain reforms. To regard these "reforms" as "reformism" and to quote Lenin's criticism of reformism to attack them is not only unscientific but contrary to Lenin's original intention. By the same token, it is also incorrect to quote Lenin to attack the 1898 Reform. Secondly, the 1898 Reform cannot be regarded as "a change that does not call for the abolition of the foundation of the old ruling class, i.e. a change which tolerates the preservation of that foundation." This statement by Lenin, as far as could be literally interpreted, does not cover the

1898 Reform Movement because its two main objectives proposed by Kang, Liang and their associates actually affected the foundation of the feudalist regime. So it is incorrect to quote Lenin to criticize the 1898 Reform.

It must be noted that the 1898 Reform cannot be called a "reformist movement." It was a "modernization movement," the basic objectives of which agreed with those of the bourgeois revolutionary movement. They both wanted to develop capitalism in China and make China a capitalist society, although they differed in method and the forces they relied upon. The former was in favor of moderate and gradual reforms, worked closely with the enlightened faction (the emperor's faction) of the feudalist ruling class, and did not dare to mobilize the masses. The latter favored radical revolutionary methods, allied with the bourgeois constitutionists, and mobilized the masses to a limited extent. Judged in the context of copying the capitalist road in foreign countries, the former took after the Meiji Reform in Japan, while the latter had in mind the French and American capitalist revolutionary approach. The 1898 Reform Movement and the 1911 Revolution were to a given extent similar as they were different. Both must be treated separately. Only by doing so could we arrive at a scientific conclusion which agrees with historical reality.

Comrade Ding Baolan of the Department of Philosophy, Zhongshan University, said reformism is a bourgeois strategy to oppose proletarian revolution. Consequently, to study the reform movement led by the bourgeoisie in modern Chinese history in the context of reformism would raise more questions than it could answer. For instance, which part of the program supported by the reform movement stands for reformism? Whom did it try to defraud or lull? So the term reformism must be understood in its original conceptual implications, and should not be used indiscriminately. In reality, as Chairman Mao said, the 1898 Reform Movement was a form of bourgeois democratic revolution, a step of historical development prior to the bourgeois democratic revolution. I also want to comment on Kang Youwei's theory of historical evolution. Some people say that Kang Youwei worked for quantitative instead of qualitative transformation of social institutions. I believe Kang Youwei was determined to make the country strong. He used the age of chaos to represent feudalism, the age of peace to represent constitutional monarchy, and the age of universal harmony to represent a world of his dream. This obviously implies both quantitative and qualitative changes. Kang and Liang were opposed to "overstepping" (the stages of historical development), and we believe a revolution should proceed from one stage to another. Moreover, social changes could be either eruptive or non-eruptive. The Reform Movement was for the decline and fall of feudalism and the growth of capitalism.

Comrade Duan Yunzhang of the History Department, Zhongshan University, said the history after the Opium War was dominated for a long time by two lines of struggles: that China was gradually reduced to a semi-colonial and semi-feudalist society by the combined forces of imperialism and feudalism on the

one hand, and that the Chinese fought to win national independence and the right to develop capitalism on the other. If we say that the anti-British struggles during the Opium Wars, the Taiping Tianguo peasant uprising, the Sino-French War, and 1894-95 Sino-Japanese War belonged in the latter category, then the subsequent 1898 Reform Movement campaigned even more firmly than these wars to win national independence and the development of capitalism, and deserves to be treated as an important link in the anti-imperialist and anti-feudalist bourgeois democratic revolution in China. By "revolution" we mean the revolution against imperialism and its lackey, the Qing Government. In other words, it sought to keep pace with the worldwide trend and to meet the need of the masses by substituting the advanced capitalist system of the day for the backward feudal system. The 1898 Reform Movement stood up for national salvation and patriotism. Even though it did not work for the overthrow of the Qing Government, it opposed the government's traitorous capitulation, campaigned for a constitutional monarchy and the development of capitalism. In reality, it was a revolution against the decadent traitorous feudal autocracy. That is why Comrade Mao Zedong said on many occasions that the 1898 Reform Movement belongs in the category of the bourgeois democratic revolution.

Comrade Zhang Lei of Guangdong Academy of Social Sciences said the 1898 Reform Movement led by Kang and Liang shared "the character of the bourgeois democratic revolution" because "the Opium War, the Taiping Tianguo Movement, the Sino-French War, the Sino-Japanese War, the 1898 Coup, the Northern Expedition, the land reform war, and the current war against Japan are the manifestations of the resolute resistance of the Chinese people against imperialism and its lackeys." (Selected Works of Mao Zedong, p 595) In a word, the objectives of the Reform Movement--national independence, democracy, prosperity and strength--are the primary objectives of the bourgeois democratic revolution. Moreover, the 1898 Reform Movement led by Kang and Liang was actually an important "stage" of the growth of the bourgeois democratic revolution. It was the premiere performance of the nascent bourgeoisie in modern China, and epoch-making feat to introduce to China more systematically the Western learning and to lead China to follow the Western capitalist road by launching a modernization program in the political, economic and cultural fields. It made preparations for the subsequent democratic revolution and helped the Chinese society rise above the medieval benchmark. We may safely say that the Reform Movement was an important turning point in the course of the old democratic revolution, moving it to the forefront from its state of preparations.

The Reform Movement led by Kang and Liang had its limitations, but we must not be overcritical of our predecessors without considering the historical background.

Comrade Fang Zhiqin of the Guangdong Academy of Social Sciences said the Reform Movement was a political movement of the bourgeoisie during its infancy while the 1911 Revolution was a political movement of a precocious bourgeoisie. The

former was actually an important link in the course of the old democratic revolution of the bourgeoisie in modern Chinese history. Many people who later joined the revolutionary camp once believed that the Reform Movement was good for national salvation. In fact, Sun Yat-sen had only a small following when he organized his Xingzhong Society in 1894. At that time, the Reform faction and not the revolutionary faction was the representative of the bourgeoisie, which did not abandon the Reform camp to join the revolutionaries until the passage of time had enabled it to mature and awaken its leaders. The success of the 1911 Revolution is attributable to the ground work laid by the Reform Movement. The 1911 Revolution actually drew strength from the lesson it had learned from the failures of the Reform Movement. In view of its unprecedented contributions, the Reform Movement ranks far above all past movements.

In the past when people discussed the relationship between revolution and reform, they only pinpointed their differences without highlighting their similarities, both of which are changes in a capitalist society. They interested themselves only in the criticism of the Reform by the revolutionaries without bringing to light what the revolution had inherited from the Reform Movement. It would be unthinkable for the revolutionaries to "arouse the masses of the people" if the leaders of the Reform Movement did not spend years to enlighten them.

In a word, we must accord a proper place in history to the Reform Movement and analyze fairly and equitably its merits and demerits before we can draw a lesson from the experiences ranging from 1898 Reform Movement to the 1911 Revolution.

Comrade Zhong Zhenwei of the History Department of the South China Teachers College said the objectives of the 1898 Reform were national salvation and survival, a change of status quo, the establishment of constitutional monarchy, and the development of capitalism. In view of the lesson it had drawn from the failures of the Westernization Movement, the Reform camp believed they must copy the West by launching allout political and economic reforms to achieve national salvation and survival. So the guiding ideology of the Reform was "complete transformation."

It must be noted that a constitutional monarchy and a democratic republic are but the forms of government for the same form of state, a bourgeois dictatorship. The top priority of the 1898 Reform Movement was to seize power from the feudalists diehards, substituting a capitalist constitutional monarchy for a feudal autocratic monarchy in order to establish a bourgeois dictatorship and blaze a trail for the development of capitalism in China. Consequently, we can rest assured that it was the first attempt of modern Chinese bourgeoisie to seize power from the feudal landlords, the first bourgeois revolutionary movement which share certain characteristics of a bourgeois democratic revolution. In reality, the 1898 Reform Movement may be regarded a preview of the

subsequent 1911 revolution. Any disagreement on the nature of 1898 Reform Movement is bound to lead to different assessments of its place and role in history. So it is necessary to examine and ascertain the nature of 1898 Reform Movement. In doing so, we must keep apart the nature and the form of the revolution.

Only by examining dialectically the relationship and distinction between its ideology, activities and leaders could we assess accurately the historical accomplishment of the 1898 Reform Movement and achievements and errors of Kang and Liang.

Comrade Zhang Nansheng of the Quangdong Academy of Social Sciences said our study must focus on the relationship and distinction between the thinkers, the ideological trends and the political movements. As far as the history of modern China is concerned, the 1898 Reform Movement and the 1911 Revolution were the only two great political movements which had their own thinkers who had evolved the modernization and democratic revolutionary ideological campaigns. The Yihe Duan (Boxers) movement was an impressive patriotic anti-imperialist movement without either thinkers or any ideology, and did not even have any prominent leaders. It is debatable whether the Taiping Tianguo had any system of ideology, even though Hong Xiuquan and Hong Rengan were better political leaders than thinkers. The theory of pragmatic statesmanship represented by Gong Zizhen, Wei Yuan, and Lin Zexu who lived either before or after the Opium War did enlighten the Chinese "to look to the world at large". But they did not launch any movement nor did they form any political organizations. History is complicated. Instead of labels and simple formulas, we must restore the original colors of all historical figures and events, sum up and assess correctly their positions and roles in history, and analyze them jointly and separately against the historical background at the time.

The 1898 reform is a historically important political movement led by the modernization faction. Its demand for reforms, for "national salvation and survival," and for the development of capitalism were in keeping with the trend of the time under the then existing conditions. The modernization faction led by Kang and Liang which inherited and expanded the ideological drive for pragmatic statesmanship and looking to the world at large, and launched an actual political movement ranging from "petitioning the throne" to the "100-day reform" helped immensely to enlighten the Chinese thinking circles. It may be described as a great leap forward, the most brilliant page of Kang Youwei's personal political life. Consequently, in assessing the Reform Movement and its leaders, both Kang and Liang, we must cover fully the maximum impact of the role they played in linking the past to the future and bringing forward the past and forging ahead into the future. The fact that Kang Youwei lost his leadership role and became a stumbling block to the bourgeois democratic revolution should be treated as a separate question concerning an assessment of the later part of his life. A man's life is full of changes. He may keep

advancing to keep pace with the progressive trends of the times, or may be rejected for various reasons by the force of history. We must not downgrade his earlier "achievements" just because he made "mistakes" later in life. By the same token, we must not condone his "errors" in the later part of his life just because of his earlier "achievements." Moreover, we must not downgrade the Reform Movement just because of the "errors" of its leaders. We must apply the historical materialist principles and methods to examine the ideological trends and movements in modern Chinese history and the personalities involved in order to bring out the truth. In his "Paucity of Philosophy" Marx said: Formulas alone do not get very far in the study of history." We must bear this in mind.

Comrade Chen Shenglin of the Department of History, Zhongshan University said we should explain scientifically the place in history of the "Kang-Liang modernization faction" which launched and led the 1898 Reform Movement apart from the changes in the later personal lives of both Kang and Liang. Analyzed by the dialectical materialist method from the historical materialist viewpoint, the Kang-Liang modernization faction had lived up to the expectations of its time. The age of the Kang-Liang modernization faction was an age when they mounted the historical stage to become the leading force which decided the destiny of China, an age of preparations for the Chinese bourgeois democratic revolution, especially the stage of the 1898 Reform Movement which helped the democratic revolution outgrow its "preparations" and head toward its "frontal" development. Viewed in this specific historical context, they had contributed more new things than their predecessors to the progress of history.

First, they led the ideological trend of the Qing Dynasty, especially the modern progressive ideological trend critical of and opposed to autocratic monarchy, to a real campaign to reject the system of autocratic monarchy. Prior to this, the criticism of the autocratic monarchy by the reform faction of the landed class had been "constructive" the revolutionary peasants had attacked the autocratic rule but still unable to shake off the yoke of the imperial power; nor did the earlier modernizationist thinkers before the Sino-Japanese War put into practice their wish to reform the system of autocratic monarchy. After the Sino-Japanese War, the Kang-Liang Modernization faction launched a reform movement to put into practice the progressive ideological drive for constitutional reform and modernization. This was the first political movement in Chinese history to repudiate the system of autocratic monarchy. Although they were interested only in a constitutional monarchy and did not ask for overthrowing the emperor, and were crushed, the fact that they acted to seek constitutional reforms, stood out to repudiate the system of autocratic monarchy which they declared alterable rather than sacred and inviolable did, objectively speaking, blaze a path and prepared the public for the overthrow of the imperial system by the bourgeois revolutionary faction.



Second, they turned the efforts of the Chinese people since the Opium War to understand, introduce and adopt the Western bourgeois democracy into real action for the installation of a constitutional monarchy as had been done in Japan. Prior to this, although Lin Zexu, Wei Yuan and Hong Rengan had spoken in favor of the Western bourgeois political institutions, they did go as far as to ask for the adoption of such institutions to replace the autocratic monarchy. The earlier modernization thinkers did propose before the Sino-Japanese War to adopt the Western parliamentary system and "joint rule by the king and his subjects," but that was only an expression of preference and appeal. The Kang-Liang modernization faction turned this preference to action and produced a platform of constitutional reforms and modernization by following the example of Japan to establish a constitutional monarchy. Although they opposed "rushing into" a republican form of government, they did not deny the progressiveness of the republican system. Objectively speaking, their propaganda and action actually paved the way and prepared public opinion for the bourgeois revolutionary faction to establish a republic. Their efforts to learn from Japan led to a sudden increase of the number of Chinese students in Japan, a fertile ground for the expansion of the revolutionary faction in Japan.

Third, they "created a timely philosophy of their own" (Dai Yi: "Ideological Liberation in the 1890's"), a "new school of thought which is 'neither Chinese nor Western but both Chinese and Western'" (Liang Qichao: "An Introduction to the Academic Achievements of the Qing Dynasty"). They are regarded in the history of modern Chinese thought as the pioneers of an ideological drive which invoked the theories of evolution, natural rights and democracy to refute those who defended the inviolability of the system of absolute monarchy, the divine right of kings, and feudal rules of ethics on the one hand and to advocate the substitution of a constitutional monarchy for the absolute monarchy on the other. Objectively speaking, they put together for the bourgeois revolutionary faction the theories of evolution and natural right and its political platform to establish a bourgeois republic, and paved the way and prepared the public for the "frontal" approach of the bourgeois democratic revolution "to overthrow the imperial system and to install a republic."

Comrade Wu Xiqing of the Department of Philosophy, Zhongshan University, said the philosophy of Kang Youwei, a philosophy of enlightenment in modern Chinese history, was a link in the drive to repudiate the feudalist theory that "the way is as immutable as heaven." In more than half a century after the Opium War, some thinkers evolved the concept of "gradual advance" to cover "changing the tools without changing the way" as an antithesis to the metaphysical theory of immutability. This was followed by the bourgeois modernizationists who accepted the rationale of "gradual advance," rejected the immutability of "the way," and proposed to achieve "total change" by "changing both the tools and the way," a qualitative change to be attained only by non-violent means. Finally, the revolutionary faction led by Sun Yatsen repudiated the theory of

non-violent approach and called for "crashing" revolution. This explains how the modern theory of evolution enriched the theory of dialectics and promoted liberation of the mind as it broke through the confines of metaphysics.

Kang Youwei's philosophy called for the substitution of new values for the old values. We should not deny his contributions to theoretical thinking just because he favored non-violence or equate his thinking with the Western vulgar theory of evolution. The Western bourgeois advocates of the vulgar theory of evolution advanced the principle of social "equilibrium" to defend the immutability of the capitalist social system which they claim is the best for mankind. The Chinese reform faction applied the concept of evolution both to highlight the inevitability of changes in the Chinese feudalist society and to prepare the public to accept the transformation of feudalism into capitalism. Kang Youwei of course was also influenced by the vulgar theory of evolution. In his later life, instead of attacking the feudalist system, Kang Youwei developed the negative components of his earlier thinking to oppose the political platform of the bourgeois democratic revolutionaries and revolutionary dialectics. Thus, his emphasis on non-violent "graded" evolution became a new antithesis to the popular revolutionary view, making him an opponent to dialectics and a spokesman for the Qing Dynasty government. But we have no justification to criticize his earlier thinking in the context of his later thinking.

Only by understanding thoroughly the Reform Movement, especially the difficulties and complexities of the research on Kang and Liang, and by widening the scope of research based on systematized data and the views of all schools of thought could we pursue vigorous and in-depth research.

Comrade Chen Xiqi said the 1898 Reform Movement was an anti-imperialist and anti-feudalist movement sponsored by the nascent bourgeoisie in modern Chinese history. Being the first movement to liberate the mind in modern Chinese history, it had a tremendous impact on Chinese economy, politics, culture and philosophy. It played a role in enhancing the growth of national capitalism in the early years of the 20th century, and objectively speaking, set in motion certain factors favoring the 1911 Revolution. The recurrent drives to liberate the mind from 1911 Revolution to the 4 May Movement associated with efforts of the Chinese people's pursuit of a true road to national salvation were, to a certain degree, a continuation of the drive to liberate the mind which began with the 1898 Reform Movement.

The movement which occupies such an important place in modern Chinese history deserves more serious studies.

If we were to seek new developments on top of the researches already done, we would have to direct our attention to the following areas:

1. We should produce carefully deliberated theoretical and realistic answers to a certain issue, such as the question whether the 1898 Reform Movement represented reformism.

2. We should go a step further to examine both the class and ideological bases of the 1898 Reform Movement. This requires additional research on the economic and ideological history of modern China. Both Kang and Liang were born in Guangdong, and began their careers down there. But very little has been done so far to study the history of the development of capitalism in Guangdong. There is a lot more to be done in gathering and collating the research material. Once this is done, then we will be able to understand more clearly the political ideology and class affiliation of Kang and Liang.

3. We should examine the 1898 Reform Movement in a broader historical perspective. For instance, we should study the relations between the 1898 Reform Movement and the Westernization Movement on one hand and the 1911 Reformation on the other. Furthermore, we should also compare the 1898 Reform Movement with the nascent bourgeois political movements in other countries. The 1898 reformers campaigned ardently to learn from the Meiji Reform in Japan. We should study the similarities and differences between these two reform movements in two different countries, and find out what accounts for the success of the Meiji Reform and what accounts for the failure of the 1898 Reform Movement. The studies already done in this particular field is still not enough.

4. We need more research on Kang Youwei, the founder of the 1898 Reform Movement, the Liang Qichao, its most eminent publicist. Additional research on Liang Qichao is especially vital because he ranks almost equally with Kang Youwei in Chinese history and had a more profound impact than Kang Youwei on different generations of people in the ideological and academic fields. The fact he was an influential complex figure in politics and ideology makes such research even more worthwhile.

Comrade Zhang Qiguang said: Can the study of the thought of Kang and Liang be regarded as a focal subject of research? Personally, I think I can say definitely that it is a focal subject of research.

The thought of Kang and Liang covers many areas, but its principal topic is political theory which deals mainly with the principles of constitutional monarchy. They had discussed extensively about legal systems related to constitutional law. They are very important, but very little systematic research has been done in this area.

Today, a more urgent research project is to study the patriotic thinking and revolutionary spirit of both Kang and Liang. This requires scholarly works put in popular editions for extensive dissemination.

The 1898 Reform Movement led by Kang and Liang had once been compared to the Meiji Reform in Japan the Russian Decembrist coup d'etat. This deserves more exploration. The concept and viewpoint of constitutional reform advocated by Kang and Liang were no doubt influenced by the constitutional reforms of Japan, Russia, and other countries. Most recently, the publishing circles have turned their attention to the history of Chinese "orientation toward the world." Shouldn't the academia pursue more active studies on the way the modern Chinese thinkers "oriented toward world?" The so-called "orientation toward" means in reality to learn from the world the true way of national salvation. This applies to Kang and Liang. Even though Kang Youwei who set out to seek truth landed on "falsehood," the research is still worthwhile. He admitted: ".... I am afraid to talk about democracy and republican form of government after I have visited Mexico. I am afraid to talk about revolution and independence after I have visited India." Why? We must not let his own confession distract us from research.

For a time Kang and Liang were engaged in political and academic activities in Japan. Kang Youwei spent 15 years visiting European, American and Asian countries after his constitutional reform had failed. He did this not for sightseeing but for political and academic activities. The material on his tours has not been systematically collated, and needs even more systematic study. Kang Youwei completed his "Datong Shu" (A Treatise on Universal Harmony) in India. Was that a coincidence or related to his political activities at the time?

Moreover, Kang and Liang maintained frequent contacts with Chinese residing overseas, and their relations with the overseas Chinese are also worth studying. Kang and Liang were very influential among overseas Chinese in the years between 1898 and 1904. Sun Yat-sen had pointed out that "the overseas Chinese, unable to distinguish the false and the true, were misled by them." But Why? What are the objective and subjective reasons for this? This calls for in-depth exploration.

Kang Youwei, an eminent scholar of the Confucian Classics, had evolved his unique approach in the controversy over the authenticity of the earlier and latter scripts of the Classics. This is also worth careful exploration. Comrades Zhou Yutong and Tang Zhijun have done remarkable research on this subject, but we still need more penetrating studies on the relationship between Kang Youwei's theory of the Classics and his principles of constitutional reform. In-depth research on the Classics is more difficult and requires more time.

Comrade Jin Yingxi of the Guangdong Academy of Social Sciences said Marxism-Leninism and Mao Zedong Thought are the guiding principles of historical research which we must uphold firmly. It is the Marxist historical materialist viewpoint that has made the study of the history of mankind a science. To keep

our research work on the right track, to analyze events and personalities more penetratingly and realistically, and to arrive at scientific or comparatively scientific conclusions, we must adhere to the Marxist position, viewpoint and methods to study the 1898 Reform Movement and its leaders, Kang and Liang. This is the key to raise the level of our research. Moreover, we must continue to collect data, including the research on the 1898 Reform Movement and on Kang and Liang done scholars in our Taiwan Province, Hong Kong and other foreign countries. Since 1970's, the scholars of Taiwan, Hong Kong and foreign countries have published more and more books and research papers. They have compared Kang and Liang with the leaders of Meiji Reform in Japan, explored the different factions involved in the 1898 Reform Movement, and examined the 1898 Reform Movement in connection with the worldwide reform movements of the 19th century. Only by upholding the materialist dialectic method and by paying close attention to all available data, including the results of all useful researches, could our research cover new ground and achieve better results on the basis of what has already been achieved.

Comrade He Ruojun of South China Teachers College said the 1898 Reform Movement was not due to the growth of Chinese capitalism but due to imperialist aggression and oppression which drove the Chinese, especially Chinese intellectuals, to seek reforms out of patriotic zeal for "national salvation." What had been done in the past to highlight the reform movement as a drive to liberate the mind was correct, but the patriotic aspect of the movement has not been fully explored. In fact, patriotism and liberation of the mind are inseparable.

Comrade Dai Xueji of the History Department, Jinan University, said the impact of the 1898 Reform Movement should not be downgraded, and serious research on the 1898 Reform Movement, and on Kang and Liang may lead to researches on other problems of modern Chinese history. Instead of accepting a cut and dried conclusion, the 1898 Reform Movement should be analyzed lively against the actual historical background at the time.

Comrade Lu Cuilan of Jinan University said that as shown in his petition to Emperor Guangxu, the development of a capitalist economy was an important item in Kang Youwei's modernization program. He presented the need to develop a capitalist economy to Emperor Guangxu on several occasions. The proposals "to enrich the country" and "support the people" which appeared in his "Petitions to Throne" actually formed a complete program for the development of a capitalist economy. Kang Youwei who favored an "industrial state" may be regarded as the first person who advocated industrialization of the country in modern Chinese history. Our academia had not done enough research on the economic thought of Kang Youwei, and this calls for more in-depth research.

Comrade Zhang Lei said it is a very complicated task to study and evaluate realistically the 1898 Reform Movement and roles of Kang and Liang. It does

not necessarily represent historical reality, for instance, to jump to the conclusion that reforms are "doomed" in modern China because the 1898 Reform Movement had failed. If the assessment were based on its failure to change the nature of the Chinese society, then the three advanced social movements in modern Chinese society--the peasant war, the 1898 Reform Movement, and the democratic revolution--would all be "dead ends," weren't they? Why do we single out the 1898 Reform Movement as "a dead end" and downgrade its place in history by its failures? If the sacrifice of the "six martyrs" did not bring the constitutional reform to "a dead end," it would be logically shaky to equate its failures with "a dead end." Nor could the assessment rest on the strength of imperialism and feudalism versus the weakness of the bourgeoisie because the old democratic revolution had to face the same odds. We must analyze realistically all the basic reasons. For instance, what was the attitude of the imperialists toward the Reform Movement? What was the attitude of the feudalist forces toward the Reform Movement? What were the major weak points of the reform group? The outcome of the analysis demonstrates that the failure of the 1898 Reform Movement does not necessarily make it "a dead end." Nor does it imply that the Reform Movement could not possibly succeed to a certain extent in modern China. In a semi-colonial and semi-feudalist country like China, the imperialists and the feudalists are bound to suppress any movement which threatens their ruling position. This was how the Qing government forces and the foreign rifle troops crushed the Taiping army, and how they brought Yuan Shikai into power. On the other hand, they could be less hostile toward a more moderate reform movement which does not disturb the existing social order. Actually the Reform had won the "concern" and "interest" of more than one imperialist country, and the support of a part of the feudalist forces --the emperor and some local potentates, and they were sincere about it. The development of Chinese capitalism to a given extent was acceptable to both the imperialists and the feudalist forces because the former could use it as a vehicle to extend their political, economic and cultural aggression while the latter could use it to arrest the ever-worsening crises. There were also many odds against the constitutional reform which disintegrated in a flash (such as the "supreme authority" the reformers banked on was in reality powerless whereas Empress Dowager had the solid backing of the diehard factions).

To pursue realistic analysis of and express different views on the 1898 Reform Movement and on Kang and Liang do not amount to "deserting" Marxism because "the vitality of Marxism rests on realistic analysis of actual conditions." ("Selected Works of Mao Zedong" p 287) Academic growth depends on academic democracy. Only by analyzing realistically the actual conditions and having the courage to express fresh opinions and to correct our mistakes in accordance with Marxist teachings could we achieve scientific results in our research on the 1898 Reform Movement and on the roles of Kang and Liang.

Comrade Chen Huidao of the Marxism-Leninism Teaching and Research Office, Zhongshan Medical College, said that in spite of the progress made in recent years, the research on the 1898 Reform Movement and on Kang and Liang have not

been active and penetrating enough. I believe we must let all schools of thought speak out to activate more penetrating research on Kang and Liang. To evaluate Kang Youwei and Liang Qichao comprehensively and correctly is as complicated as to study their works and their thought. Consequently, we must let all schools of thought speak out in order to promote academic discussions where each feels free to express his views based on facts and reasoning. Only by mutual enlightenment and mutual help to raise our level of understanding, to uphold what is correct and amend what is erroneous could we gradually arrive at scientific or comparatively scientific conclusions.

In a drive to let "all schools of thought speak out" in researches on the 1898 Reform Movement and on Kang and Liang, we must seek truth from facts in accordance with the guideline provided by Marxism-Leninism and Mao Zedong Thought. As a rule, the overall guiding ideology is either materialism or idealism, dialectics or metaphysics. In recent years some people have claimed that Marxist-Leninist guideline is not required in historical studies. That is an erroneous point of view. Any historical research not guided by Marxism is bound to be retrogressive and degenerate into a bourgeois science of history. Of course we have to learn about the stand, viewpoint and method of historical research from the classical works on Marxism-Leninism, and proceed from historical realities to analyze specific problems based on sufficient reliable data. This is the only way to avoid biased subjective arbitrariness and dogmatic quotations and formulas.

Comrade Yuan Weishi of the Philosophy Department, Zhongshan University, said that since Kang Youwei and Liang Qichao are influential figures in modern Chinese history, all sites and relics relating to Kang and Liang, such as the Wanmu Caotang and Xiqiao Shan where Kang Youwei once studied should be preserved as historical relics. The Guangdong government agencies in charge should be reminded of this matter.

#### Postscript:

Comrade Shen Songxin of the Henan Academy of History has mailed us his paper which contains his views about research on the 1898 Reform Movement and on both Kang and Liang. The following represents his views:

The 1898 Reform Movement which stands for the trend of Chinese social development at that time is an important link marking the awakening of the Chinese nation. At that time, Kang Youwei was at the forefront of the tide of history like a radiant star. Liang Qichao was an overpowering writer with superb literary skill and extraordinary wisdom. His "Expositions of Constitutional Reform" were so enlightening that they actually tug at one's heartstrings. His thought and writings had a tremendous impact on the youths and intellectuals of his times and those of later generations. Commenting on our research on Kang and Liang, Mr. Gu Jiegang, an established senior historian, talked at

length with Professor Zhao Fengtian of our academy. Mr. Gu said: Kang and Liang who had launched the Chinese constitutional reform movement will rank among historical figures of all ages. It is a shame that no historian has yet gathered together in a book the literature of the day." He continued: "People of my age who had received education have all experienced the impact of Kang and Liang. The research on Kang and Liang is a very important topic in modern Chinese history, and should be done conscientiously, wisely and effectively." He urged Mr. Zhao to raise the level of research. What he told Mr. Zhao also represents the need and wishes of us the younger generation.

Although a lot has been written on Kang and Liang after the founding of the PRC, most of these writings are unfair. This was especially true during the "Great Cultural Revolution" when the "gang of four" branded both Kang and Liang as pro-Confucianists, attacked them brutally, and even implicated their relatives.

Following the downfall of the "gang of four," especially after the 3rd. Plenum of 11th CCP Central Committee, the warmth of springtime reached the world of science. Our academy has put its Kang-Liang Research Group back to work. We have interviewed the descendants, relatives and friends of Kang and Liang in several cities, including Guangzhou and Beijing. We have visited the libraries in such places as Beijing, Shanghai and Guangzhou, obtained very valuable manuscripts left by Kang and Liang. "The Chronical of Liang Qichao" which the late Mr Zhao Fengtian had supervised has been edited and will be published by the People's Press in Shanghai. We are also working on "The Unpublished Manuscripts of Kang Youwei." The completion of these projects will help our academia to pursue comprehensive and systematic research on Kang and Liang.

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## SOCIOLOGICAL, EDUCATION AND CULTURE

### PROTECTION OF WOMEN'S RIGHTS EMPHASIZED

Shenyang LIAONING RIBAO in Chinese 14 Jul 82 p 1

[Commentary by staff commentator: "Criticize the Thinking That Boys Are Better Than Girls; Safeguard Women's Legitimate Rights--Conclusion of the Forum on 'How To Correctly Treat the Question of Giving Birth to a Girl'"]

[Text] Since this newspaper launched the discussion on "How To Correctly Treat the Question of Giving Birth to a Girl" over the incident involving Jiang Yuhie [1203 3768 2638] and Wang Qin [3769 3830], we have during the past month and more received over 500 letters and manuscripts from readers in 15 provinces and municipalities. The various mass organizations have actively organized the masses to participate in the discussion; many basic-level cadres have convened forums and symposia, all with a view to helping people to further clearly recognize the harm of the remnant feudal thinking that boys are better than girls, to make a clear distinction between right and wrong, beauty and ugliness, and good and evil, to enhance their sense of responsibility in protecting the legitimate rights of women and babies, to reinforce their concepts about the legal system, morality, and our established policy. All this has achieved very good social effects.

The occurrence of the Jiang-Wang incident and other similar incidents has upset our ecological balance, encroached upon women's rights, hampered birth control, affected family harmony, ruined our social customs, and become a serious social problem. Why have ordinarily happy families fallen apart, loving couples turned into enemies, harmonious mothers-in-law and daughters-in-law come to give each other the cold shoulder? What gives rise to such abnormal social phenomena is primarily the fact that some people have had their souls polluted by the thinking that boys are better than girls, ignored ethics and morality, and lacked concepts about law and discipline. Ideas such as "a boy can shoulder the roof beam, but a girl cannot prop up the door frame," "having only girls in the family would mean a lack of any more successors," etc., are really no more than a concrete reflection of the traditional attitude of despising the female. Actually, "successors" suggest succeeding generations; heaven without earth cannot make the universe, men without women cannot found a society. Only when men are married to women can mankind multiply, nations perpetuate, and families continue. But some people have no perception of this common knowledge; they understand "having successors in the family" as "having males as successors"; this is

really a view stupid enough to destroy mankind. As to whether or not a person can become one of such calibre as to be able to "shoulder the roof beam" or not is still less determined by sex but more determined by the person's thinking, knowledge, talent, and other such acquired faculties. Historically speaking, heroines and female champions hardly numbered in the thousands. In today's China, female experts also abound and female advanced personalities have surged forth wave after wave. In the international tournaments of three kinds of ball games, the very first team that earned the championship for the motherland was a female volleyball team. Times are different now; men and women alike are the masters/mistresses and pillars of the state. The idea that a male is superior and a female is inferior, hence a female is not as good as a male, is totally groundless and very harmful.

We must correctly treat the question of giving birth to girls in the family and earnestly protect the legitimate rights and interests of women; this requires all circles in society to take up the responsibility. In the first place, we must have a correct understanding and fair public opinion and establish a custom according to which regarding males as superior to females is shameful, ill-treating females is criminal, and showing women respect is honorable. Secondly, we must carry out penetrating and careful ideological and political work, persistently and assiduously promote education on communist morality, the socialist legal system, and birth control and have it regularized, institutionalized, so that we look after both "what is within the 8 hours" and "what is beyond the 8 hours." Thirdly, we must have the courage to grasp and handle ill treatment of women, and to intervene actively in their behalf; the view that "in the absence of injuries, the law takes no heed," or that "even an honest magistrate can hardly pass judgment on family affairs," is but a reflection of an indifferent, extremely irresponsible attitude toward the people. Whether or not one handles such matters makes a great difference. When nobody takes charge, Jiang Yujie can be oppressed to death; when someone is in charge, Wang Qin can have her misfortune turned into good fortune. In the party and government organs, public security, procuratorial and court branches, worker-youth-women organizations at various levels and police and militia units, mediation organs, and communes and production brigades in the countryside and street committees in the cities, wherever women are present, the units and leaders there should all take up their active responsibility to earnestly listen to women's appeals, warmly receive them during their visits and in their letters, solve their problems in time, and strive to do a good job in protecting women's legitimate rights.

Society is of course responsible for protecting women's legitimate rights from encroachment, but women themselves must also see their own power and rise to protect their own rights and interests. On this question, not all women have a clear understanding; or even if they understand, they may still lack courage in their action. Some women, because they have been fettered by the idea that men are superior to women, feel that they have done their husbands and their fathers-in-law a bad turn when they give birth to a girl; they feel a lack of forthrightness and a lack of confidence and, when they are subject to ill-treatment, therefore are willing to swallow their pride, put up with whatever is necessary in order not to upset the applecart, or even become suicidal in inclination. This is the result of women degrading

themselves and bowing to feudal ideas. Such thinking is negative and leaves too much to be desired. It not only sacrifices one's life senselessly but also brings about a negative impact on society. Women, especially young women, should learn a lesson from Jiang Yujie's tragedy, think seriously, and reach a correct conclusion: to forthrightly and confidently reason and struggle so as to become strong participants in the struggle against remnant feudal ideas, to seek freedom and firmly believe that one's struggle is bound to gain broad sympathy and powerful support in society.

This forum is now concluded, but this does not mean that the various issues raised during the discussions have all been satisfactorily solved, nor that the idea of regarding men as superior to women has also disappeared along with the conclusion of this forum. The discussions thus aroused by realities have merely accomplished the task of helping us to know the world, whereas our goal is to change the world. After the conclusion of our discussions, various circles in society must join their hands, pool their efforts and ideas, apply Marxism-Leninism and Mao Zedong Thought, apply legal weapons, and give full scope to our ideological and political work in order to overcome the old thinking and concept and tradition about men being superior to women and prevent a repetition of the tragedy of Jiang Yujie, and in order to establish the new thinking, new morality and new custom so as to let this flower of our socialist spiritual civilization symbolizing equality between the male and the female and family harmony bloom across the urban and rural soil of the whole province.

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## SOCIOLOGICAL, EDUCATION AND CULTURE

### ESTHETIC IDEALS OF WRITERS DISCUSSED

Beijing GUANGMING RIBAO in Chinese 22 Jul 82 p 3

[Article by Min Ze [2404 3419]: "On the Esthetic Ideals of Writers"]

[Text] An artistic work is the spiritual product of the artist, it is impossible for such a work not to have the author's esthetic intentions, ideals and ethical sentiments totally bared before the reader. No matter how an author might attempt to invoke the "magic of concealment" in his work, say, by alleging that his work consists of "fiction and hearsay" or is "recorded" from a "rock," that it is the "diary" of someone, or that its story is culled from rumors and gossip, his case can be no exception.

An author's esthetic intentions and ideals are always consistent with his given ethical ideals; or, put another way, the former are constrained by the latter. One's esthetic judgement is definitely not equivalent to his ethical judgment, nor can one's ethical judgment replace his esthetic judgment. But an esthetic judgment, especially an esthetic judgment regarding social phenomena, which considers such phenomena as being beautiful or ugly, is often steeped in the ethical judgment of the esthete, the man himself. As early as the pre-Qin days, some already recognized this point, and they therefore put forward the requirement of "all good and all beautiful" for the arts (at the time, mainly poetry and music). Later on, there came to be even more such requirements, such as "both beautiful and good" suggested by Jiang Yan in his "Introduction to 30 Miscellaneous Poems." "Beauty" is an esthetic judgment, whereas, "goodness" is a social judgment; the two were expected to be combined in a work.

The reason why superior or great authors are respected by people, and the reason why superior or great works are regarded by people as treasures in man's spiritual history, lies in the fact that the authors have created beautiful art with noble and fine ethical sentiments and thus both elevated people's ethical sentiments and also heightened and enriched people's esthetic appreciation. In the field of esthetics today, many issues are under debate; but as to the point that art is the highest form of man's creation with respect to beauty, there is basically no controversy. During the past few years, people have often talked about the importance of feelings to real literary creations; this is no doubt correct, as it illustrates the progress our literary theory has made after it cast off dogmatism and the classicist

air. But we need also to explain that while strong and genuine feelings are an indispensable condition to all fine works, not every reflection of genuine feelings is always beautiful or meaningful. Only truly fine, inspiring feelings are beautiful, valuable, and worthy of promotion. Gong Zhizhen, a thinker and litterateur of the late Qin period, once suggested in his "Author's Own Introduction to Long and Short Discourses" a very famous theme of "honoring feelings." What "feelings" did he propose to "honor?" He said:

"In terms of the nature of sounds, those which induce people to strive forward are in accord with the moral way, and those which induce people to drift toward degeneration are not in accord with the moral way; those which lead people toward the shining dawn are in accord with the moral way, and those which lead people toward the gloomy night are not in accord with the moral way. Being in accord with the moral way, there will then be the joy of transcendence and sublimation; not being in accord with the moral way, there will then be the onus of indulgence and degeneration."

This is to say that what merits honor and promotion is not just any kind of feelings, but only those which induce people to strive forward and to advance toward brightness, certainly not those which lead people downhill or toward darkness. This is precisely why Gong Zhizhen's works occupy an especially important spot in modern history, whereas other contemporary works of his time which failed to have such an esthetic ideal not only appeared relatively poorer but were swallowed up by the tide of history in no time and hence were never heard again.

During the past few years, people have also talked a lot about the simplification of Liang Qichao's literary and esthetic theories and at times even excessively so, but few seem to know that Lian Qichao also had quite a few well stated views in this regard. For instance, when he sometimes overstressed the social role of literature, that was indeed somewhat inappropriate, but he was of the opinion that, with regard to the real value of literature, a very important point is to reflect the author's esthetic sentiments. He said "Only when a poet nurtures sufficiently the cluster of fine feelings in his own bosom and then reflects them by fine skills can he succeed in his work in not forfeiting the value of literature" ("The Feelings Reflected in Chinese Prose"). This option is indeed very good. In the case of works that are really valued in the literary history of the world, their authors' esthetic ideals and feelings, etc., are bound to be fine and inspiring. When such ideals and sentiments are lacking, then training and cultivation are needed. It is far from being enough for works of art, especially works that reflect life in society, to have only a beautiful form; they must have beautiful content and the authors' esthetic sentiments, etc.

This is because the purpose of creation, insofar as an author with a sense of responsibility toward society is concerned, is forever the support of beautiful things and in opposition to ugly things. While the criteria for beauty and ugliness may differ in various stages of historical development or even exhibit great discrepancies, the support of what is beautiful and

and elimination of what is ugly remain the common points of all worthy works in literary history. In China, beginning with Qu Yuan, through Li Bai, De Fu, Guan Hanqing, Tang Xianzhu, Cao Xueqin, and Lu Xun, up to certain well-known authors of our own day, there has been no exception. As Gorkiy said in his "On Literature:" "The purpose of art is to exaggerate beautiful things in order to make them even more beautiful and to exaggerate bad things...so that they will incur loathsomeness, provoke people's determination to eliminate those...shameful instances of despicable and sordid conduct from life. The essence of art is a struggle between approval and opposition; indifferent art does not, and cannot, exist."

This being the case, a question is thus presented to us: as a socialist author, one should have correct, Marxist esthetic judgment, in which case one is liable to take what is beautiful as ugly, and vice versa. Such situations did exist in history and they also exist in our creations today. We know that esthetic ideals come from mastering the esthetic ideas of a particular sensory mode in reality; they are by no means a priori or endowed by nature, but concrete, historical; in Engels' words, "the formation of the five senses is a product of the entirety of past world history" ("Feuerbach and the End of Classic Philosophy in Germany"). Although esthetic ideas or esthetic ideals basically do not represent the perception of the pure rationale and pure concept of reality, and such a perception would lead to a very harmful simplification, vulgarization and rationalization of esthetics and artistic creation which we must oppose, we also must oppose nonrationalist esthetic concepts, such as Ke Loqi's nonrationalist "theory of intuition" and Freud's subconscious activity, etc. At present, such theories are prevalent, especially among youths. It should be said that when these theories are applied to concrete problems, they all have some rational factors and thus may and also should be absorbed critically; we must not, as in the past, adapt an attitude of obliterating all of them. This is one aspect. But at the same time we must also see their nonrationalist limitations. Excluding rationality without analysis, especially in treating complicated social phenomena, would result in erroneous political judgment and esthetic judgment. Such situations exist in our current literary and art theories, and they also exist in our creations. To speak just of the situation in literary theory, I have more than once seen this kind of theory: art is a creation of beauty; any utilitarian, rational requirement only serves to snatch life out of art or even blasphemes art, etc. Such a theory indeed calls for scrutiny. Although "writing poetry on the basis of reason" and "writing prose on the basis of reason" have been proved more than once by all literary history, ancient or modern, Chinese or foreign, to be doomed to failure and without vitality, if art consisted, or only consisted of subconscious, nonrational activity, then would it not be true that the more idiotic and the more moronic "madmen" and the like should then be regarded as the more qualified to create the best works? Yet in literary history since antiquity, we fail to find a single such example. The reverse has somehow always proved to be true, as truly highly regarded authors in esthetic history and in literary history are often outstanding or even great thinkers. This shows that this kind of theory is not in accord with reality and hence cannot stand. Also, speaking of utilitarian requirements, simplistically utilitarian requirements in violation of the laws of art like

those we have imposed on art in the past and which demand effect immediately after a work is read, an effect even faster than that of fertilizers, are of course incomparably preposterous. Lessons like that we can hardly afford to repeat. But if art has no social effect whatsoever, can it develop and gradually prosper? This is not only impossible, but has long been discarded by history. If this has been the case, there would not have been so many authors in history who sought to create at the risk of their lives and against all hazards. It would be meaningless today, too, for us to engage ourselves in this solemn and sacred task; if it is but a handsome plaything, what meaning could it have? In appearance, this kind of theory seems intended to raise the status of art, but in reality the reverse is the result, as it serves greatly to devalue art and devalue ourselves!

Fine artistic creations are always the crystallization of people's spiritual culture. Artists of the socialist era should naturally be creators of our spiritual civilization. Isn't this the case with most of our comrades?

Speaking further of our situation regarding creation, the achievements we have scored in the past few years are indeed great and cannot be obliterated by anyone. This is one aspect. On the other hand, we must also see that not a few problems calling for our solemn attention do indeed appear along the path of our progress. One of these problems is that an author often passes erroneous judgments about certain phenomena in life, thereby leading to harmful effects. The situation in this regard has been rather complicated. In view of the terrible rampage during the 10-year catastrophe and the way human nature sank into oblivion, some are seeking noble moral cultivation; this doubtless should be encouraged, but in doing this we would thus moralize history or even be looking for rescue by religion and trying to find an outlet there. That cannot but be harmful and preposterous.

In our creation today there is also another quite common situation, and that is: authors' esthetic ideals and ideas are problematical because they turn beauty and ugliness upside down, or because authors' esthetic feelings and ideas are very low in quality and they take what is generally regarded as ugly things as "beautiful" objects and thereby relish embellishing and applauding them; some descriptions have even degenerated to the point of being dirty, ugly and unsuitable to the eye. And this, it happens, is by no means just an accidental phenomenon. What does this explain? A person's writing is like the person himself; the quality of his writing is no other than the quality of himself. The lowly and dirty style of a work illustrates that there is a problem about the author's esthetic ideas which requires attention and vigilance as well as reform and elevation; otherwise, it will be impossible for him to produce fine artistic works; because the beauty of artistic works can never exist apart from truth and goodness.

Literature naturally may and must inevitably describe ugly things in life. But for a forthright, progressive, or revolutionary writer, to reflect them is to whip them, eliminate them, and in such whipping are reflected precisely the writer's strong esthetic ideals and pursuits; it is not to objectively display them or, worse, to relish embellishing them. It is here that a writer manifests the difference in his esthetic ideas, interests and ideals

from those of others. Take for example the considerable number of works which reflected the first 2 years of "cultural revolution;" not a few of them are quite good. Insofar as I am concerned, a work like "On the River Without Navigation Lanes" is one of those which attract my particular interest. There are many reasons why I like it; an important one among them is that it fully and profoundly reflects the disaster of the 10-year catastrophe, on the one hand, and on the other also fully uncovers the beauty of man's soul and spirit, which according to China's tradition is called "internal beauty;" this is reflected not just in the person of Pan Lao Wu alone but in the many, many masses who need no neo-confucian cloak to adorn themselves. This both tallies with the reality of life and reflects the author's correct, noble esthetic ideas, and he by no means describes that period of life as a patch of darkness. This also indicates what is outstanding about the author's thinking and art.

For a long time, in respect to the extent of literary expression, there was an unwritten compact according to which certain things were regarded as unsuitable for inclusion in the realm of artistic description. Lu Xun, for instance: "Take a painter for example; he paints snakes, crocodiles, turtles, fruit peeling, wastepaper baskets, and garbage dumps, but there is no one who would paint caterpillars, bold ringworm, running nose, or stool specimen" ("Introduction to 'Collected Soviet Woodcut Prints'"). This view is generally correct, but there is by no means no exception. For instance, during the Renaissance period, in the well-known painting "Dancing Under the Hanging Platform" of the well-known painter (Bodugaier of Nidelanzhu), the author somehow chose to paint a man stripping his pants to have a bowel movement. This seems rather inconceivable according to ordinary practice, and it is also not literary work but a painting, whose susceptibility to direct observation is even stronger; if not properly handled, people might really be prompted to cover up their noses when passing by it. Yet while viewing this painting people never have such a feeling; instead, they often heap praises on it. The reason lies in the painter's comprehensive artistic handling; he paints the hanging platform, but he also paints people dancing in the open among the trees underneath the hanging platform and the man having a bowel movement at the lower corner of the canvass. With these artistic deployments put together, an artistic whole is thus structured, suggesting extreme disgust with the symbol of suppression by the Spanish invaders--the hanging platform. This effect is so strong that it really deserves to be called a famous painting. Here is an illustration that not including certain things which are ordinarily not included in a painting is not absolute; the key lies in whether the author's esthetic ideas and ideals are healthy and correct or not. If correct and healthy, then what is ugly in life can be turned into artistic beauty; in contrast, even when things in life are themselves beautiful, if the author lacks the correct esthetic ideas and ideals, they can also be demonstrated by him as dirty and baseful things. If we are to cite some examples among our present or past creations, we can indeed cite many examples in this regard. There is a big gap between "Plum Flowers in the Golden Vase" and "Dream of the Red Chamber," and a very important reason for this is that between these two works there is considerable discrepancy and difference in the authors' esthetic ideas and ideals which have determined the distinction in their respective styles.



Whatever esthetic ideas and ideals one has is also likely to lead to whatever styles of products one may produce. There was a young writer who produced a very bad work and was subjected to understandable criticism by others, a criticism seeking truth from facts; but that writer resentfully and plausibly asked the critics whether it could be that since he wrote about robbers and prostitutes, the writer himself thus was regarded also as having turned into a robber or a prostitute? Such questioning may really be said to border on the ridiculous. No one ever takes the various personalities coming from the writer's pen as being the same as the writer himself, but this by no means prevents people from appropriately appraising the level of the writer's esthetic ideas and ideals through the personalities coming from his pen and the attitude he demonstrates when he expresses liking or hatred in complimenting or reproaching such personalities. Once produced, works of art take on an objective existence, and an objective existence must always incur objective criteria for social criticism and esthetic criticism.

Our literary creation is facing new tasks; it must depict the new people of socialism, and it must create a new socialist spiritual civilization. If an author himself does not have noble ethical sentiments and esthetic ideas and ideals, it will be very difficult for him to accomplish such tasks. Everybody knows the prominent Wang Guowei of the late Qing and early Republican era; he was the very first scholar to introduce Western esthetics, especially the esthetics of Kant and Schopenhauer, to China and he also suggested that the various subject division of universities should generally include the subject of esthetics. His esthetic thinking has always been regarded as a priori and extra-utilitarian. This is roughly correct, but not entirely accurate. If people would read his "The Spirit of Master Qu," they would immediately understand the point clearly. In that article, he demonstrated his esthetic thinking about a very strong sense of responsibility toward art and its positive, worldly application. He said: "poetry takes as its business the description of human life, but this life is not isolated; it is a life in the midst of the family, the nation, and the society." Again: poetry can both express the ideals of "reforming the old society," and also demonstrate the author's own ideal of "adhering to that reform with his persevering will and assiduous strength so as to struggle with society at his time." Here he was neither transcendent, as he once demonstrated in his article on the esthetics of the "Dream of the Red Chamber," nor asking art to lament being old and humble, but was merely describing his private encounters as an individual, as some of our contemporary comrades in the field of the new poetry are advocating; he was asking, that we be concerned about the fate of "the nation, and the society," he was encouraging people to maintain their ideals about reforming the old society and "creating a new society" and their need to have "persevering" and "assiduous" ambitions. This is the advocacy of the prominent promoter of extra-utilitarian, a priori esthetics whom we have often mentioned--although this advocacy was neither his principal aspect nor still less his entirety. If such an elder as Wang Guowei of the late Qing and early Republican era had such superb refined ideals and wishes about art, as writers of the socialist era how should we handle our own careers? If we cannot even match his esthetic ideals about art, will we seem too backward and too unreasonable!? In his early years, Lu Xun, as a revolutionary democrat, also stressed that art "means the use of one's ideal to beautify natural

things," and he said: "The natural things we see are not necessarily perfect...but when they are represented, we must modify them, so that they will all be proper; this is called beautification" ("A Written Proposal on Spreading Fine Art"). Of course, the overwhelming majority of our writers and the main currents of our literary career are not like this. But with respect to the partial situation in our career where extra-utilitarian esthetics and nonrational esthetics are being advocated, and where esthetic ideas and ideals are not high or are even rather low, we need not mention any Marxist requirements; merely listening to the views of Lu Xun in his early years or even the views of such people as Wang Guowei should cause us to feel somewhat encouraged, somewhat stimulated. So, let us then handle our literary careers with "persevering" and "assiduous" ambitions and dedicate our own share of strength to the building of our socialist spiritual civilization and to the improvement of people's esthetic ideas!

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## SOCIOLOGICAL, EDUCATION AND CULTURE

### WRITERS, ARTISTS URGED TO TAKE 'YANAN TALKS' AS GUIDE

Guangzhou XUESHU YANJIU [JOURNAL OF ACADEMIC RESEARCH] in Chinese No 3, 20 May 82 pp 5-9

[Article by Wu Hongcong [0702 1347 5115]: "Learn the Basic Spirit of 'Talks at the Yanan Forum on Literature and Art'"]

[Text] It is now 40 years since Comrade Mao Zedong's "Talks at the Yanan Forum on Literature and Art" (referred to below as the "Talks") was published. Under the new circumstances in which our country's people are concentrating their forces on building socialist material civilization and spiritual civilization, it is an important task in current research work on the theory of literature and art to relearn and restudy Marxist theory on literature and art and Mao Zedong's thought on literature and art, and to uphold the spirit of the "Talks" in order to solve the new situations and new problems in literature and art work.

What is the basic spirit of the "Talks"? Comrade Hu Qiaomu, in his article "On Certain Questions on the Ideological Front at Present" (RED FLAG 1981, No 23), summarized its main points: "Literature and art are the reflection of human social life, and life is the source of literature and art. Life can be reflected from different positions, and the proletarian and people's writer and artists must reflect it from the proletariat's and people's positions. In a place where the people are the masters of their own affairs, the writers and artists must get deeply involved with the people's life and first of all put themselves in the life of the great majority of the people--the workers, peasants, and soldiers.... The writers and artists must stand in the positions of the proletariat and the people, and create works of literature and art that unite and educate, awaken and inspire the people, remold the old society and old ideology, and build a new society and new life." At the time when Yanan was carrying out its rectification movement, Comrade Mao Zedong, based on the actual situation in which, after the outbreak of the war of resistance against Japan, a large batch of writers and artists had come to the liberated area and were faced with a new life and new masses, new objects to depict, and new readers, applied the viewpoints of historical materialism and dialectical materialism, summed up the movement in literature and art since the "May 4th" movement began, and expounded on the question of how revolutionary literature and art was to

express the new era, new life, and new masses. The practice of literature and art in the 40 years since then has proved that the basic spirit of the "Talks" possesses important theoretical and practical significance for the development of proletarian literature and art.

In his "Talks," Comrade Mao Zedong pointed out: Literature and art are a reflection of human life, and social life is the only source of literature and art. This was an application of the theory of reflection of materialism to literature and art, and was also the aesthetical foundation for the theory of realism in literature and art. As early as the end of the 19th century, the Russian revolutionist Chernyshevskiy put forward the well-known viewpoints of materialist aesthetics that "beauty is life," "the highest realm of beauty is human society," and art is the reproduction of reality. Even if, because of the backwardness of Russian life, his thoughts on aesthetics could not avoid the obvious limitations of his region, Chernyshevskiy, while affirming the principle that beauty is life, also pointed out that artistic works that reproduce life still have the role of "explaining life" and "judging the phenomena of life." With the help of science and art, people need to deeply understand life and nature. In 1905, Lenin, in his "Party Organization and Party Literature," put forward the principle that proletarian literature and art must be the party's literature and art, and made an extremely incisive exposition on the essence and features of proletarian literature and art. After the October Revolution, Lenin, in a talk with the German revolutionary (Caitejin), further expounded on the idea of literature and art serving the countless masses of people. Lenin pointed out: Art belongs to the people. It must have the most solid foundation at the bottom of the broad masses of working people, must be understood and loved by the masses, must combine the sentiments, ideas, and will of these masses, and arouse art in them so that they will develop art. This shows that the purpose of art and literature in reflecting life is not only to correctly show life, but more importantly is to dynamically transform life. The viewpoints on literature and art and on life emphatically expounded by Comrade Mao Zedong in the "Talks" are precisely the application and development of Lenin's thought on literature and art to the new circumstance of China. After the "Talks" were published, there appeared in the anti-Japanese bases many literary works as "The White-Haired Girl," "Bloody Tears of Vengeance," "Ballads of Li Youcai," "The Whirlwind," "The Sun Shines over Sanggan River," "Wang Gui and Li Xiangxiang," and "The Snare," which were good works that served the countless masses. These works not only took the workers, peasants, and soldiers at the principal objects to portray, and were loved by them, but also became spiritual weapons for uniting and educating the people and for striking at and exterminating the enemy. Literature and art were integrated with the masses, and after the publication of the "Talks," the most striking feature of the new people's literature and art was the integration of literature and art with the revolutionary struggle.

Mao Zedong's thought on literature and art is a science. While answering the fundamental question of for whom and "for what" literature and art is, the "Talks," centering on the relationship between literature and art and life, profoundly expounded on the social role of revolutionary literature and art and on the objective laws for the development of literature

and art. Particularly noteworthy is that the "Talks" applied historical materialism to the domain of aesthetics, incisively expounding on the process in which there is a leap from living beauty to artistic beauty. Comrade Mao Zedong held that human social life was the only source of literature and art and that both of them were beautiful. However, the life reflected in literary and art work could and should, as compared to ordinary actual life, be higher, stronger, more concentrated, more typical, more ideal, and therefore more universal. Workers in literature and art must concentrate the phenomena of everyday life and from it make typical the struggle between contradictions.

Why did Comrade Mao Zedong pay this much attention to making literary and art works typical? This is because although life is the only source for the creation of literature and art, the relationship between literature and art and life is one between the reflection and what is reflected, and no source in itself can replace the role of revolutionary art and literature. The beauty of life and the things formed by nature are relatively coarse, mixed and disorderly, and only through the process of making them typical, through concentrating, generalizing, and refining them, grasping the essence of life, can there be created, based on actual life, various kinds of characters who authentically reproduce typical natures in typical environments. Literary and art works must typify and generalize life, and they they will have ideological value and artistic value. We think that the "Talks" stress that workers in literature and art must become deeply involved with life and the masses, and that it stresses that the workers in literature and art must go into fiery struggles and into the broadest and richest source and observe, learn from, study, and analyze all people, all classes, all the masses, all the vivid forms of life and struggle, and all the firsthand materials for literature and art. After this they can enter the creative process and they will know why and how to show these things by making them typical. The "Talks" expounds more concretely on the Marxist principle of typicality, and Comrade Mao Zedong's exposition of the theory of typicality, is worthy of conscientious study and learning.

The life of art is reality. That is to say, literature and art must proceed from life and reflect the true features of life. However, life can be reflected from different positions, and it cannot be called reality to write about whatever there is. On this point, the "Talks" are very clear. A writer must not only reflect the life of reality but also the reality of life. The two things are not the same. I completely agree with the view that only if the reality of art is integrated with progressive or revolutionary trends will it meet the requirements of socialist literature and art. No successful writer can write about a life he is not familiar with, and as for a revolutionary writer, he also cannot create works that are separated from the position of the people and the proletariat. Therefore, the "Talks" stressed that literary and art workers must become deeply involved with life, become one with the masses of people, change their ideas and feelings, and shift their standpoints.

After the "gang of four" was smashed and order was brought out of chaos, everybody criticized the "deceptive and fraudulent" literature and art concocted by Lin Biao, the "gang of four," and their hired literati, tried hard

to develop the tradition of revolutionary realism, and advocated "writing about reality." Marked results were obtained in this respect. However, some comrades had a different understanding of all this, and some of them put forward the proposition that literature should express their own position, saying that "self-expression" was the "highest aesthetic principle." They publicized the so-called "new wave," and even said that "the world is continually shrinking, and in every corner of it human footprints have been left; there are no new continents to discover, so today our new continent is ourselves," etc. If one were to say that literary creation goes through the writer's spiritual labor before it is completed and that the works are bound to reflect the writer's feelings and views of life, then to not permit "self-expression" would not be suited to the characteristics of literary creation. At present, the problem is not here, but rather is in the fact that some comrades think that literature and art should not serve anything and that our poetry can only serve poetry and art. It seems as if the writers can completely separate themselves from real life and not take into consideration the aspirations and demands of the masses of people. We see that some works in which "self-expression" is pursued, while expressing the theme of struggle between the new and old, the beautiful and the ugly, and the good and the evil, do not make an effort to unearth the beauty in people's mentality, do not extol the noble sentiments and lofty ideals of characters who dedicate themselves to the realization of the "four modernizations," but rather adopt the attitude of naturalism in portraying certain negative phenomena in social life and greatly exaggerate unhealthy mentalities and feelings, so that the style of the works sink to the bottom. We cannot but say that these are major flaws ideologically and artistically. Some comrades put the reasons for the misfortune created for their characters or for the criminal behavior that emerges in a nutshell: the socialist system. This is straying even further from the truth. Here, we are certainly not saying that literature and art can only "extol" but cannot "expose," We admit that our socialist society has both a bright side and a dark side. The key is to clearly distinguish what is primary and what is secondary, and basically affirm the superiority of socialism over capitalism. How can our writers cover up or whitewash the extremely serious wounds inflicted on the people's life and spirit and the huge disasters caused to the people by Lin Biao and the "gang of four" during the 10 years of internal disorder? Also, how can they be indifferent to all sorts of contradictions in real life? Who can deny that when "Where the Silence Is" exposed and lashed the hideous souls and crimes of the "gang of four" and company, people were greatly inspired and given unlimited courage and confidence? Who would not be affected by artistic force revealed in the portrayal of the tragic fate of the protagonist in "The Red Magnolia by the Main Wall." It is thus clear that the problem of praise and exposure can be solved. Forty years ago, Comrade Mao Zedong in the "Talks" criticized some writers who took the stand of the petty bourgeoisie, creating their works as a self-expression of the petty bourgeoisie. He pointed out: "Quite often they express heart-felt sympathy for the intellectuals of petty-bourgeois origin, they sympathise with or even praise their shortcomings." Today by studying again these teachings we can really be inspired and enlightened by them. People need art, art even more needs people. We must carry forward and develop the fine traditions of revolutionary realism since the May 4th movement, uphold the basic spirit of the "Talks," and "consciously draw source materials, themes,

plots, language, poetic feeling, and descriptive meaning from the life of the people and nourish ourselves with the aroused spirit of the people in creating history." (Deng Xiaoping, "Congratulatory Speech at the Fourth Congress of Chinese Literary and Art Workers," 30 October 1979, RENMIN RIBAO), and create more and better works.

Of course, in implementing the basic spirit of the "Talks" today, we certainly do not want socialist literature and art to return to the 1940's, and it cannot return to that decade. The rectification movement in the Yanan period was a great movement to emancipate the mind. Based on the actual situation, Comrade Mao Zedong concentrated his criticism on various expressions of the petty-bourgeois ideology in literature and art. Without a doubt, the questions he raised had a definite focus. In fact, owing to the development of circumstances and the difference in times, we have already changed the way we put some questions. For example, now we don't put forward the proposition that "literature and art are part of politics," and we don't make "literature and art are to serve politics" our slogan. But this is not to say that literature and art has no relationship with politics, but rather that the formulations "literature and art are part of politics" and "literature and art are to serve politics" cannot sum up the total role of literature and art or completely reflect the objective laws of literature and art. Conversely, the slogan "literature and art are to serve politics" is usually simplistically understood by people as serving the politics of a certain era or of serving a certain policy, or it becomes a handle for certain departments in charge, in the name of leadership, to wilfully interfere in literary and art work. Therefore, in the new circumstances we put forward the slogan that literature and art are to serve the people and socialism, which shows that practice has greatly enriched the content of revolutionary literature and art and that Mao Zedong's thought on literature and art possesses powerful vitality.

Based on the basic spirit of the "Talks," I think that there are two problems to which attention must be paid. First, we cannot set literature and art in the service of the people in opposition to literature and art in the service of the workers, peasants, and soldiers. Serving the people is a wide-ranging concept. Although workers, peasants, and soldiers cannot be substituted for the whole body of the people, they are the great majority of the people, and the intellectuals of a socialist society are also part of the working people. To set the two in opposition would be incorrect. Second, we cannot take our encouragement to the literary and art workers to get deeply involved with life and our advocacy that they reflect the new era and portray new people, and isolate them from the proposition that writers should write about the life they are familiar with. Social life is extremely complex and times have changed. Naturally, we encourage the literary and art workers to become closely involved with the masses, to observe the new life and to reflect the new times, but we cannot not take into consideration the writers' original foundation in life and their accumulated experience of life, and just as we please arrange for them to go here or there "to become deeply involved in life." In a former period, some people asked: Why is it that the over 20 years of the democratic revolution period saw the publication of the world-renowned works "Family" and "Thunderstorm," respectively written by comrades Ba Jin and Cao Yu, but in the socialist period more and better

works have not appeared? These are certainly not isolated phenomena and are worthy of our conscientious summing up. Comrade Ba Jin very insightfully said the following: "There is one experience in the 30 years: by rushing movements and tasks, many works can be written, but also none of them will be preserved." (see "On the Question of Summing Up 30 Years of Literature and Art," WENYI YANJIN [LITERATURE AND ART RESEARCH] No 3, 1979) Therein lies the crux of the problem. With regard to the new era and the new life, there is a process of going from the unfamiliar to the familiar, and if one wants to write works that dig fairly deeply and are fairly large in scope, one needs a period of time to accumulate experiences of life. If one were unfamiliar with something and did not work hard to become familiar with it and to reflect that would be incorrect; but if, in order to portray new people, one abandons one's originally accumulated experiences of life and does not get a grip on artistic creation in accordance with the laws of art, that also should not be done. Everybody knows that the necessity for becoming deeply involved in life, first, is owing to the fact that social life is the source of literature and art. Second, it is owing to the fact that we are today in a period of getting rid of the old to make way for the new and that during the 10 years of internal disorder our cause of building socialism suffered serious damage, and the Marxist line, principles, and policies formulated by the 3rd Plenary Session of the 11th CCP Central Committee have begun a great rejuvenation. Under this historical condition, an intricate struggle between contradictions is bound to emerge in each domain of social life. We can only, under all sorts of possible conditions, adopt all sorts of forms to sink our roots a little deeper in the soil of life and continually improve our theoretical level, ideological level, and artistic self-cultivation, and thereby correctly reflect the true features of the times. This is a requirement put for literary and art work in the cause of building socialism and is also the quintessence of Mao Zedong's thought on literature and art, and it must be upheld.

Lenin said: With regard to the cause of literature, we absolutely must insure individual creativity and the wide field of activity loved by the individual, a wide field of activity that has ideas and fancies, form and content. We believe that the more we travel along the road of socialist literature and art, the wider the road becomes.

Over the past several years, following the successful launching of the movement to emancipate the mind, the cause of literature and art has presented a thriving picture. Many revolutionary literary and art works, facing reality, have brought up questions that the masses are concerned about and have warmly praised new people and new things. They dare to expose social contradictions and to criticize the pernicious influence of the ultraleft line, and dare to assail negative phenomena obstructing the construction of the four modernizations and to mercilessly lash ugly souls. For example, they report the phenomena of juvenile crime and criticize the special-privilege mentality of bureaucratic work style of certain leading cadres, etc. which evoke strong repercussions in society. The plays "Reporting Spring Flowers," "Save Her," and "Rights and Laws," the novels "Class Teacher," "Factory Director Qiao Takes His Post," and "When People Reach Middle Age," and the film "Legend of Tianyun Mountain" have all been welcomed by the masses. The greatest breakthrough made by these works is in casting



off the spiritual fetters of the "gang of four," emancipating the mind, and effecting a closer relationship with life. The phenomena of the emergence in the literary world of the 1980's of people like Qiao Guangpu [0829 0342 2613] and Lu Wenting [7120 2429 1250] not only indicates that socialist literature and art have made new achievements, but also makes clear that to become integrated with the times and with the practice of revolutionary struggle has already become a characteristic of the times in socialist literature. However, we must see that the literature of any era is linked with specific historical conditions, and that, through the 10 years of internal disorder, there appeared in our country a situation in which the new and the old were intertwined. This caused people to think things over carefully, and all sorts of ideological trends appeared. Because these social phenomena have been created for complex historical and actual reasons, today we are, as we were 40 years ago, confronted with the questions of how to correctly understand and reflect the new era. Our party has consistently advocated that subject matter be varied and has encouraged writers to be bold in making innovations, holding that writers are free in how they write about things. However, what the writer writes about and what he doesn't write about, as well as how he writes about it, cannot be completely unselective and unpurposeful. Therefore, the party Central Committee raised before our literary and art workers the question of a writer's responsibility and the social effects of his works. With regard to this question, there was a debate which vigorously promoted the work of literature and art commentary and the advance of literary creation. Many comrades thought that this question had been timely put, and that it could help us to overcome past drawbacks and to avoid again committing some mistakes. But some comrades that if the question of considering social effects was put to writers, this would lead to "imposing restrictions" and "copying stereotypes"; if certain works whose social effects were not all that good were criticized, they thought this was "stirring up a cold wind" and "wielding the big stick," and people would not agree with this. We oppose oversimplifying the question of social effects and attributing certain criminal behavior or bad habits to the influence of literary works; at the same time we also oppose a writer's, during the process of creation, not giving some consideration to the social role and social influence of his work. This is because in real life, there still exist viewers and readers with different feelings. If the public publication or performance of any work can have social influences, it will not do to not take this fact into account. As a matter of fact, the party Central Committee, in putting to us the question of a writer's responsibility to pay attention to social effects, basically speaking, requires that writers take the stand of the proletariat and use this spiritual weapon that is literature and art to reflect social life, reflect the essence of the people's various social relationships, show the advance demanded by the times and the trends developed by history, and help the masses to correctly understand life, transform life, and propel the advance of history. In examining the good or bad social effect of a given work of literature or art, the main thing is to see whether it benefits the "four-modernizations" and the "four upholds," whether it can improve the people's morals and sentiments and their socialist awareness, whether it is beneficial for promoting a good turn in party style and social atmosphere, and whether it

inspires the people to be of one heart and one mind and promotes a stable, unified political situation. We should, based on the historical characteristics of the new era, sum up new experiences and solve new problems. In this way we will be able to make the cause of socialist literature and art flourish even more and to fulfill better the glorious tasks bestowed upon us by the times.

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## SOCIOLOGICAL, EDUCATION AND CULTURE

### RESTDY OF MAO'S YANAN TALKS ON LITERATURE, ART

Beijing SHIDAI DE BAOGAO [REPORT OF THE TIMES] in Chinese No 6, Jun 82 pp 57-62

[Article by Li Helin [2621 0149 2651]: "A Summary of China's Literature and Art in the Twenties and Thirties and Their Future Direction of Development"]

[Text] "The Talks at the Yanan Forum on Literature and Art" (hereafter "the Talks" for short) constituted a summary of 25 years of modern Chinese literature and art, from the 4 May period (1917-1921) to 1941, and also pointed out the direction of their future development.

Owing to the gradual spread of Marxism during these 25 years and the gradually deepening penetration of the people's new democratic revolution, literature and art moved from the dispute over new and old literature, over classical and vernacular language, to "art for life's sake," "art for art's sake," and also the promotion of realism, romanticism, naturalism, etc., to a time when demands were voiced for "literature and art for the revolution," and later to the promotion of "revolutionary literature and art" and "proletarian revolutionary literature and art," until, in the thirties, the movement of left-wing literature and art took shape as a movement that was to occupy an overwhelmingly dominant position. As to the ideology of literature and art, the development was from a sweeping "for the sake of life, for the sake of society," "for the sake of revolution" to "for the sake of the worker-peasant masses," "for the proletariat," and further on to the recognition of the "class nature of literature" and a "literary theory of historical materialism." The Marxist ideological component grew continuously stronger and the demand for a proletarian and mass standpoint became more and more distinct. The importance of the popularization of literature and art and the world outlook of the writers and artists was also brought up. In the struggle of criticizing feudal, comprador-bourgeois, bourgeois, petty bourgeois and even bureaucrat-capitalist and fascist ideologies in literature and art, and in the political struggle against imperialism, feudalism, bureaucracy and the comprador-bourgeois class, the contingents of the proletarian revolutionary literature were built up and tempered, and the level of Marxist literary and art ideology raised. However, due to the oppression and restrictions of all kinds imposed by the reactionaries

and due to the inadequate subjective conditions among the rank and file internally, significant problems of fundamental character in the literature and art of these 25 years were not properly solved or did not find sufficiently clear-cut and thorough solutions, and it was only in the talks that they found their solutions and that a direction was pointed out for their forward advance. In this connection, the following questions came to my mind:

# 1. The Problem of Literature and Art For Whom and How

The proposal of the left-wing writers and artists of the thirties was for literature and art to be for the worker-peasant masses and for literature and art to be popularized. However, owing to the oppression and restrictions imposed by the reactionaries, it was extremely difficult for the literature and art workers to immerse themselves among the worker-peasant masses. Their repeated promotion and discussion of the popularization of literature and art also merely paid attention to the popularization and mass-orientation of the tools of literature (language and writing system) and neglected the mass-orientation in the thinking and feeling of the authors and artists and their identifying themselves with the masses. The Talks were the first to affirm that "the revolutionary movement in literature and art greatly developed during the 10 years of civil war." "The revolutionary movement in literature and art since the 4 May movement ... its great contributions to the revolution and its many shortcomings." That the problem "for whom" and "in what manner" did not find a clear solution must, in my opinion, be considered the first shortcoming. The Talks clearly point out that "literature and art are for the masses," which means "for the workers, peasants, soldiers and for the laboring masses of the urban petty bourgeoisie and petty-bourgeois intellectuals." That was the only way it should have been done, and in fact could have been done at that time! Because the things appreciated at that time by the landlord bourgeois class were their feudal bourgeois literature and art. Had Liang Shiqiu [2733 1395 4428] not once said that there is no relationship between literature and art on the one side and the masses on the other? Our literature and art insists on a relationship between literature and art and the masses. However, the crux of the problem is still how to serve the masses? The Talks say: "To serve these four kinds of people, we must take the class stand of the proletariat and not that of the petty bourgeoisie." It seems there were only few writers of the thirties (of both the Chinese Soviet bases and those under Kuomintang rule) that had taken the class stand of the proletariat. As the Talks say: "They were not in close contact with the masses of workers, peasants and soldiers, did not understand and study them, did not have intimate friends among them and are not good at portraying them. They can dress their characters up as working people, but these characters still have the faces of petty-bourgeois intellectuals." "Their innermost soul is still a kingdom of the petty-bourgeois intelligentsia. Thus they have not yet solved, or not yet clearly solved, the problem of "for whom?" How to solve this problem?

The Talks say: "Our literature and art workers must definitely accomplish this task and shift their stand. They must gradually move their standpoint to this side. They must gradually move over to the side of the workers, peasants and soldiers, to the side of the proletariat, through the process of going into their midst and into the thick of practical struggle and through the process of studying Marxism and society. Only in this way can we have a literature and art that are truly for the workers, peasants and soldiers, a truly proletarian literature and art. Nobody in the left-wing literature and art circles of the thirties seems to have already pointed out that the overwhelming majority of writers and artists still had "a kingdom of the petty-bourgeois intelligentsia in their innermost soul" and even less was it pointed out that if literature and art was to be popularized, the first thing to do was to reform this "kingdom in the innermost soul" and change one's mentality and sentiments, that is, achieve a fusion of their thoughts and feelings with those of the masses of workers, peasants and soldiers. These words are not only a highly accurate and most central summing up of conditions in the thirties, but in my opinion also applicable to quite a number of literary and art workers of the eighties, because on the one hand the present proletarian writers and artists have already grown into a very large contingent, and on the other hand the innermost soul of some of these writers and artists has developed adversely even beyond merely "a kingdom of the petty-bourgeois intelligentsia!" This retrogression is somewhat frightening.

As we are now building socialism it is a matter of course, and highly deservedly so, that we demand that "literature and art serve socialism." The landlord bourgeoisie never brazenly demanded that literature and art serve their rule, but what they did in actual fact was to encourage and tacitly acquiesce in literature and art that was of benefit to them and to suppress any literature and art detrimental to their interests. We now demand "literature and art to serve the people," which does not mention "service to the workers, peasants and soldiers," but the two are practically the same. Because the intellectuals have already become a part of the working class, and the "laboring masses of the urban petty bourgeoisie" have also mostly become workers, either under the system of state ownership or collective ownership, there remaining only an extremely small number of persons working on their own, we may say that over 95 percent of our total population are "workers, peasants and soldiers," so that serving the people amounts to serving the workers, peasants and soldiers. Whatever we write that will help the workers, peasants and soldiers to unite, to make progress, to press ahead in their struggle with one heart and one mind, and to discard what is backward and develop the revolution, will also be of benefit to all others.

However, we have also heard people suggest: "It would be best not to propose anything as having to be served by literature and art," as it seems that "once something is proposed to be served, it will restrict the creativity of men, so that they will not be able to write what they want and in the way they want to

write." If a certain "something" is set up to be served, it does not mean that you are demanded to absolutely have to write this certain "something." If your standpoint and attitude are incorrect, if you are not familiar with workers, peasants and soldiers and still write about them, you may, on the contrary, misrepresent them and be more of a hindrance than a help in "serving the workers, peasants and soldiers." This is even worse in a class society, where any form of literature and art, intentionally or unintentionally, overtly or covertly, directly or indirectly, to a greater or smaller extent, serves a certain group of people. What outwardly appears to be merely a landscape poem or picture of flowers and birds without an apparent human life interest, unavoidably also exerts a certain subtle influence on the feelings of the reader or viewer by its poetic sentiment or the mood expressed in the picture, and thus will have a social effect, doing service on behalf of certain people. Denying the social effect of literature and art and opposing the service function of literature and art is inconsistent with the reality of literature and art at all times and in all countries, and would only support the theories of the "purposelessness of literature and art" and of the "art for art's sake" advocated by the bourgeoisie.

## 2. The Question of "Life Being the Only Source of Literature and Art"

In the twenties and thirties the following literature and art theories were imported from abroad: 1. The literature theory of subjective idealism, which says that literature is the expression of a writer's subjective consciousness and has no connection with the objective life of society, and asserting that life is not the source of literature. 2. The literature theory of objective idealism; (a) The Psychoanalysis of Freud, which says that literature and art are manifestations of "sexual depressions," repressed in the subconscious mind, that is, that literature and art are "the symbols of depression" and that the source of literature and art is sexual depression; but on the other hand he does not mention the social reasons for sexual depression. (b) The theory of literature on the social sciences, which says that there are three factors that determine a country's literature: its ethnical composition, its climate and the particular time. But how is it that literature can differ in a country with the same ethnic composition and climate and at the same particular time? 3. The theory of literature of Marxist historical materialism: literature and art are the reflection of social life; changes in literature and art are determined by the economic foundation and the other influences of the superstructure and ideology, which also exert influences in the reverse direction. Affirming that the objective society is the source of literature and art, and furthermore asserting that literature and art are the vivid reflections of the objective society in the brains of the writers and artists, is much more in conformity with the reality of literature and art than any of the other above-mentioned theories. However, it seems nobody in the thirties emphasized, as the Talks do, that social life "provides literature and art with an inexhaustible source, their only source. They are the only source, for there can be no other. Some

may ask, is there not another source in books, in the literature and art of ancient times and of foreign countries? In fact, the literary and artistic works of the past are not a source but a stream; they are created by our predecessors and the foreigners out of the literary and artistic raw materials they found in the life of the people of their time and place." How excellently expressed! The literature and art workers of that time were indeed much inclined to learn from existing works and to neglect to a certain extent to learn from life, neglecting the one and only source of creation. By emphasizing clearly and definitely that "the life of the people is the only source for literature and art," and by pointing out the path that writers and artists must attach importance to on their road of creation, the Talks laid a firm foundation for the writers and artists of the forties and for those of the future. The Talks therefore set forth, as further demands on literature and art workers, that they "must go among the masses ... plunge into the heat of the struggle, go to the only source, the broadest and richest source, in order to observe, experience, study and analyze all the different people, all the classes, all the masses, all the vivid patterns of life and struggle, all the raw materials of literature and art. Only then can they proceed to creative work." Is this not the way many writers and artists of the eighties follow? Was it not in the last 2 or 3 years that all those who had no aspects of life as their source, but merely relied on subjective imagination to create stories, situations and characters became either quickly eliminated or created bad social effects and were also cast aside?

The Talks point out one step further: "Life as reflected in works of literature and art can and ought to be on a higher plane, more intense, more concentrated, more typical, nearer the ideal, and therefore more universal than actual everyday life. Revolutionary literature and art should create a variety of characters out of real life and help the masses to propel history forward." This is a summing up concerning certain revolutionary literature and art of the twenties and thirties; that is how they had worked. In the forties and later there had indeed been creations of this nature, which again proves and affirms as correct the road and direction of literature and art pointed out in the Talks.

### 3. Questions Regarding the Class Nature and Human Nature of Literature and Art; Is Literature and Art To Serve Politics; Criteria for Literary and Art Criticism, Extolling and Exposure Literature

1. Toward the end of the twenties, the "controversy over revolutionary literature" engaged in by the Chuangzao [Creation] Society, the Taiyang [Sun] Society, Lu Xun and others, the criticism of the "theory of human nature" set forth by Liang Shiquu and others of the Xinyue [Crescent Moon] Society, and later in the early thirties the criticism of Hu Qiuyuan's [5170 4428 0626] "Free Man" and Su Wen's [5685 3080] "Third Kind of Man," were all disputes over the question whether literature is of class nature. (Lu Xun was not at all against

revolutionary literature as such and against class nature) Writers and artists who lived in the class society, due to the differences in their ways of life and practical experiences, could hardly avoid coming under the influences of the ideology either of the ruling or the ruled classes, be this to a larger or lesser degree, overtly or covertly, consciously or unconsciously, and as a result forming rather complex world views. Applying these world views in observing the world events and describing their phenomena will, in some aspects of their works, benefit this or that group of people, but as to the major trend of the entire work, there may be possibly a leaning to one side: it may in the final analysis, directly or indirectly, favor a certain group of people or a class and be detrimental to another group or class. It is not possible to remain a mere bystander or impartial, like the "free man" or the "third kind of man." Even if a person should imagine himself to be neutral, a bystander, he will actually be more or less partial to one side. In the class society, not only is literature and art of class nature, but is there no class nature in its superstructure and ideology? This is general knowledge in Marxism and has been proven in the case of superstructures and ideologies throughout the ages in China and abroad. The democratic parties of the forties were outwardly neutral between the nationalists and the communists, but in actual fact there were only two who stood on the side of the Kuomintang reactionaries and the majority stood on the side of the Communist Party, and this has been proven by the events since the forties.

In the twenties and thirties the left-wing literary and art circles unfolded the Marxist class viewpoint in literature and art and greatly raised the level of all concerned with literary and art ideology. This was not only beneficial for the literary and art criticism of that time, but also changed the whole outlook in the study of classical literature in China and abroad. Lu Xun said: "I read several scientific treatises on literature and art and came to realize that the literary historians of the past produced mountains of writings, but still left the questions too tangled up to unravel." (In the foreword to his "Sanxianji") The "scientific treatises on literature and art" that he mentions are Marxist treatises on literature and art.

The Talks are full of the class viewpoint, which is being applied to the studying, analyzing, deciding the literary and art problems of the time, determining principles, policies and the political line, etc. There it is being pointed out in greater clarity than in the twenties and thirties: "In the world today all culture, literature and art belong to definite classes and are geared to definite political lines. There is in fact no such thing as art for art's sake, art that stands above classes or art that is detached from or independent of politics. ... Literature and art are subordinate to politics, but in their turn exert a great influence on politics." At first glance this statement seems somewhat too absolute, but when we carefully check through the famous Chinese and foreign literature and art throughout the ages, there is no escaping the realization that they indeed "belong to a certain class" and in the end



also to a "certain political line." It means that they are linked, overtly or covertly, directly or indirectly, with "class" and "political line." (The land-lord-bourgeoisie also had its particular political line, this is not something that started with the proletariat.) The writer or artist may possibly be unaware of it and subjectively consider himself as standing aloof and outside of "class" and "line," but objectively a certain tendentiousness will exist in his work and will have a social effect that will affect his readers. The Talks say: "People like Liang Shiqiu, whom Lu Xun criticized, talk about literature and art as transcending classes, but in fact they uphold bourgeois literature and art and oppose proletarian literature and art." It was this literary theory of the "human nature" set forth over 50 years ago by Liang Shiqiu which seems to find quite some appreciation among some people in the last 2 or 3 years. Some people seem to believe that literature and art gives expression, apart from class nature, also of social nature and animal nature (biological nature?): "Desire for food and sex is nature" [Mencius], all humans desire "drink, food and sex" [Book of Rites], that is the universal nature of mankind. Literature and art also give expression to drink, food and sex, therefore also express human nature and this human nature has no class character. Isn't eating, loving and sleeping the same for all classes? Independent of their various subjective and objective conditions? How can it be described in the same way in literary and art works? If "food and sex" have class character, then the literature and art that expresses this human desire for food and sex has also class character, the more so since it is being reflected through the brain of the writer or artist who is of class character! Some say: "Jiao Da of the Jia household could also fall in love with young lady Lin" (Lu Xun says: "Jiao Da of the Jia household was not in love with young lady Lin"). The question is only, if the uncouth servant Jiao Da falls in love with Lin Daiyu, that pampered, extremely delicate and sentimental young lady of nobility, what is there in her that he loves? Is it the same as Jia Baoyu's love for her? Could Lin Daiyu accept Jiao Da's love? Could the two become a loving couple?

As to "social nature," the "social nature" of man in the class society, what social nature is there besides class nature? The Talks say: "In class society there is only human nature of a class character; there is no human nature above classes." Lu Xun said: "Joy, anger, grief and happiness are the human emotions but the poor man has no worries about losing his capital in a business transaction, while the oil tycoon on the other hand cannot know the pain and distress endured by the old women in Beijing who pick out unburnt coal from cinders. The victims from calamity-stricken areas will hardly be planting orchids like rich elderly gentlemen. Jiao Da of the Jia household did not love young lady Lin." (In his "'Yingshi' [doggedly translating] and 'The Class Nature of Literature'") Emotions are determined by thinking, and in the class society thoughts and feelings cannot possibly be without class character. The love between parents and children, between husbands and wives or between brothers

and sisters is also subject to the influences and restrictions of a great many different conditions of the class society and is not at all unconditionally pure, selfless and sacred. The substance and form in which love is expressed also differs between different people. This is illustrated in the various different ways that love between parents and children is expressed. The literary and art works express love according to the concrete substance and form of love of concrete people (love in concrete life and the concrete life of love) and do not express an abstract love devoid of content, and in a class society this kind of love is of class character. The Talks express it well: "There is absolutely no such thing in the world as love or hatred without reason or cause. As for the so-called 'love of humanity,' there has been no such all-inclusive love since humanity was divided into classes."

2. Having clearly established the class nature of literature and art, we have thereby also established the relationship between literature and art on the one side and politics on the other, and also clarified the question of literature and art serving politics. Because politics is the concentrated manifestation of the class struggle, and literature and art is always linked with the class struggle in an overt or covert, direct or indirect way, to a greater or lesser degree, by the conscious or unconscious action of the writer or artist, it means that it is also linked with politics and that it serves politics. This is a fact that has been proven throughout the ages and in all countries and cannot be gainsaid. If we now propose that "literature and art serve the people and serve socialism," it is saying in effect that literature and art are to serve the politics of the proletariat and of the masses. There is no question about literature and art serving, but merely a question of how well it is serving. As to stereotyped and generalizing works that are written in support of a certain realpolitik, that do not originate in life, that fly in the face of true facts, that are created out of the imagination and out of thin air, such works are also unwanted by us even if they may contain what seems like certain revolutionary slogans and catchwords. We do not want to promote this type of works as "serving politics," but that does not mean that we reject in general the idea that "literature and art serve politics," or that we do not want that "literature and art serve politics." The more do we need literature and art that is up-to-date in reflecting the actual realities and that is not stereotype and generalizing, good works such as certain essays, report literature, short stories, poems and songs, television dramas, etc., not to mention works like Lu Xun's essays in particular. The bourgeoisie did not propagate literature and art as to be in the service of politics and even went so far as to deny that literature and art served politics, but it used a great variety of material incentives and methods of spiritual encouragement to have literature and art, directly or indirectly, overtly or covertly, serve its politics. This is also a plainly obvious fact. Works that were clearly detrimental to them often had great difficulties to get published; that too is a fact. Wasn't that the practice of all of them, the feudal emperors, the Northern Warlords and the Kuomintang reactionaries?

3. To render a service of high quality demands the production of works that combine a high degree of political character with a high degree of artistic quality. The Talks say: "Therefore, we oppose both the tendency to produce works of art with a wrong political viewpoint and the tendency toward the "poster and slogan style" which is correct in political viewpoint but lacking in artistic power. On questions of literature and art we must carry on a struggle on two fronts." These are the two criteria for literary and art criticism: the political standard and the artistic standard, and the Talks furthermore determine: "The political criterion shall occupy first place and the artistic criterion second place." "The bourgeoisie always shuts out proletarian literature and art, however great their artistic value." Lu Xun's essays, numbering about 800, are an integration of poetry and political essays, are social essays of literary and artistic nature, reflecting the history of the political ideological struggle in the China of the twenties and thirties. These essays are the best works in modern Chinese literature that combine a high degree of ideological character with artistic quality. However, in the 60 years since the "4 May era" men of different classes and different mentality have evaluated them differently. The Chinese and foreign reactionaries hated them to the very marrow of their bones. According to their political expediency, they slandered them, distorted them, downgraded them, even abused them, and even went so far as to use political means to prohibit their publication or distribution. In their assessment of Lu Xun's works, the reactionaries used politics as their first criterion. The Chinese and foreign revolutionary people and politically progressive writers and artists fully affirmed them and praised them highly, also using politics as the first criterion. Examples of this kind are too numerous to list. Recently, I heard of someone affirming and expressing appreciation of Dai Wangshu's [2071 2598 5289] poem "Yu xiang [Rain Alley]"--Dai was a writer of the thirties--a poem which is all through of a negative, gloomy, pessimistic and hopeless tone, because of Dai's seemingly excellent use of symbolism. This again is taking the artistic as first criterion. In our assessment we must note what ideology is being served by the artistic nature: politics should be the first criterion and the artistic only second criterion. The Talks say: "Some works which politically are downright reactionary may have a certain artistic quality. The more reactionary their content and the higher their artistic quality, the more poisonous they are to the people, and the more necessary it is to reject them." Have not people commented on the few items of so-called "literature of exposure" that appeared in China during the last 2 or 3 years (novels, dramas, film scripts, report literature, poems) that "although they are bad ideologically, there are redeeming factors in their artistic character"? As if one could forgive their politically and ideologically poisonous nature by appreciating their artistic nature? We still have to consider what ideology and politics are being served by their artistic nature. What the concealed analogies and symbolisms of these works express are unrealistic and a kind of antirealism, in order to serve the erroneous ideologies that they are intent on expressing. Such works are also unacceptable.

The Talks say: "The proletariat must similarly distinguish among the literary and art works of past ages and determine its attitude toward them only after examining their attitude to the people and whether or not they had any progressive significance historically." This is a guiding principle for the evaluation of Chinese and foreign classical literature. No one in the twenties and thirties has expressed it so succinctly and yet in such simple language. It is also the principle of placing the political criterion into first place, and it is the result of the summing up of assessments over many years of the literary heritage by politically advanced men in China and abroad. What criteria are to be used in evaluating "The Book of Songs," "The Elegies of Chu," Li Bai's and Du Fu's poetry? Or to determine whether works like "The Dream of the Red Chamber," "Jin Ping Mei," "The Story of the Water Margin" and "Story of the Profligate Bandits" are good or bad? Here too politics should be the first criterion, and "works of art which lack artistic quality have no force, however progressive they are politically." A correct political and ideological character must be expressed in a corresponding artistic element: Politics are to be the first criterion, followed by the artistic as second criterion. "The first" does not mean "the only," and therefore does not mean that the artistic element is unwanted and that all that is wanted is politics. The criteria for literary and art criticism of all backward reactionary classes is also like this, but they sometimes emphasize the artistic and conceal politics, thus deceiving the people. The Talks say: "Each class in a class society has its own particular political criterion and art criterion." Although the standards differ, the criterion which is universally common to all is that politics is the first criterion.

4. As early as 40 years ago, the Talks already told us that what the writers and artists praise and what they expose is a problem of standpoint and attitude. The few items of "literature of exposure" that appeared among the literary and art circles of our country during the last 2 or 3 years pose the same problem. In those early days some people had said: "It is not a problem of standpoint, the standpoint is correct, the intention is good and the understanding is perfect, it is only that it is not well expressed and so the effect turns out bad." The writers and artists now possibly also assume that their subjective intentions were good, that all "bad" phenomena are "exposed" to attract attention and induce reforms. However, if the standpoint is incorrect, if an attitude as if dealing with an enemy is adopted in dealing with the errors and shortcomings that occurred in the course of the revolution or construction among our own people due to various historical and social factors, and if furthermore these facts are onesidedly exaggerated, if the people are not offered a helping hand in all sincerity, but are rather heartlessly showered with freezing irony and burning satire (in the manner that Lu Xun treated the enemy), creating rather harmful social effects, the good intentions turn into something very bad. I recollect the words of the Talks: "We dialectical materialists insist on the unity of motive and effect. The motive of serving

the masses is inseparably linked with the effect of winning their approval; the two must be united." The key to the question is the standpoint and attitude of the writer and artist and the truthfulness of life that he selected and depicted on the basis of this standpoint and in this attitude, and how he typified it (whether his work possesses typicalness and universality, i.e. intrinsic truth). The writer and artist may possibly believe that he really takes the stand of the people's and the country's interests, adopting the attitude of a reformer of society, but standpoint and attitude are component parts of everyone's world view, and everyone's world view may be very complex; it can be progressive, backward and reactionary. Among these there is also the attitude and standpoint of believing that one's "intentions are good." There is furthermore the possibility of an incomplete or incorrect observation of the reality unconsciously inherent in one's attitude, or even admixtures of personal enmity and personal spite, which are then bound to find expression in the work produced. The effect will consequently be contrary to your subjective "good intention," the unity of motive and effect still being maintained. The principle that all dialectical materialists believe in the unity of motive and effect is also applicable, in my opinion, to those few items of "literature of exposure" of the last 2 or 3 years! Because there have recently been people who suggested that motive and effect need not necessarily be a unity (they also say in some cases they are a unity), I affirm that in the above-stated situations they still are a unity. This may not necessarily be correct and I hope my readers will please criticize and correct me.

The above was written in commemoration of the 40th anniversary of the publication of the Talks, when a renewed reading of the Talks made me think that certain ideologies expressed and certain writings and works of art of our writers and artists during the last 2 or 3 years run counter to the spirit of the Talks. This made me aware of the need for a renewed study of the Talks and of some fundamental theories and fundamental principles in Marxism and Mao Zedong Thought relating to literature and art. In the last 2 or 3 years a small number of people, having come under the influence of erroneous bourgeois ideas from abroad, or due to other domestic reasons, have shown ideological opposition to the four basic principles, as if certain basic principles of literature and art ideology in Marxism and Mao Zedong Thought are not workable. They displayed once more the landlord-bourgeois and petty bourgeois literature and art ideologies, stirring up the drags that had already sunken to the bottom, ideologies which had already been repudiated by the revolutionary proletarian literary movement of the twenties and thirties. The ideological struggle between the two classes in all fields and areas is always a protracted one, beset with setbacks and conducted in many different forms. Although conditions are not completely the same as in the twenties and thirties, they still pose the same problems of fundamental character discussed in the Talks. It is therefore necessary for us to renew our studies of the Talks and to review the history of the ideological struggle in literature and art in the era of the twenties and thirties.

5 April 1982

## SOCIOLOGICAL, EDUCATION AND CULTURE

### ENTRANCE TESTS FOR ADMISSION OF CADRES TO PARTY SCHOOL EXAMINED

#### High Failure Rate

Changsha XINXIANG PINGLUN [New Hunan Commentary] in Chinese No 7, Jul 82, pp 13-14

[Article by Sang Jian [2718 1696]: "A Report on the Three Entrance Tests Required to Be Taken by Responsible Basic Level Cadres for Entrance to A Certain Municipal Party School"]

[Text] In order to assess and to improve the training of cadres in political theories, we recently visited a certain municipal party school to investigate the situation concerning entrance tests for the three rotating classes for cadres above the secondary level since 1980. We found that, upon entering the school, the trainees were given a test and were required to answer the following 10-odd questions to test their knowledge of basic theories without the help of reference books: What are the three components of Marxism? What is the basic issue of philosophy? How many basic facets are there in the living spirit of Mao Zedong Thought? What is meant by productive power and the relations of production? What are the two major types of social production? What are the main economic laws of socialism? What are the chief contradictions in society at the present time in our nation? What are the chief political, ideological and organizational lines formulated by our party since the Third Plenary Session of the 11th Party Central Committee? What is the substance of the four basic principles? What is the substance of the party's three great work styles? What are the basic organizational principles of the party? What is the substance of the five stresses and four points of beauty?

The test results are as follows:

<u>Date</u>	<u>No. of Cadres</u>	<u>Average Grade</u>	<u>No. of Failures</u>	<u>Percentage of Failures</u>
September 1980	156	57.7	90	57.62
October 1981	146	55.6	52	35.6
February 1982	137	69.6	33	24.1
Total	436	60.1	175	40.14

On looking over the trainees' papers, we discovered that many of the basic level leadership cadres had a very poor understanding of the basics of Marxism. Taking for example the 63 candidates of the No 2 party branch who took the test for the first shift of the training class in 1982, 19--or 30 percent of the total--either turned in blank papers or gave the wrong answers to all the general questions on theories. Only 7, or 11 percent of the total, answered the questions correctly. In the three tests which have been taken, a variety of wrong answers were given to general questions on theory. Asked to name the three components of Marxism, some answered, "class, political party and people," or "people's democratic dictatorship, Das Kapital and scientific socialism." Some stated that the basic issue of philosophy was "politics and economics." The three laws of materialistic dialectics, according to others, were "the law of class, the law of history and the law of nature, the most basic being the law of social development." To the question as to what the two main types of social production were, some stated that they were "the proletariat class and the capitalist class," or "the nature of practice and the nature of class." Asked to name the three stages of capital circulation, some cited "slave society, feudalistic society and capitalist society." Asked to give the essence of Mao Zedong Thought, some named "armed struggle, the line of the masses and the united front." Some cited "ownership by the people, collective ownership and private ownership" or "the law of surplus value governing socialism" as the economic law of socialism. Only 7, or 11 percent of the candidates, gave correct answers to questions on the history of the party, the establishment of the party and current political affairs, while 35, or 55 percent of the total, submitted blank papers or gave the wrong answers. Some comrades, in answering the questions, revealed some serious errors, equating for example the four basic principles with "the continuing revolution under the dictatorship of the proletariat," or citing "the employment of the virtuous and relatives" as the party's organizational principal, etc.

In making a factual analysis of those who did well and those who did poorly in the tests, we discovered that the comrades who did well were those who usually showed dedication to their studies, while the comrades who did poorly were those who usually devoted very little time or no time at all to their studies. Taking the 63 candidates of the No 2 party branch who participated in the test of the first rotating training class in 1982 as an example, six of the eight candidates who achieved the grade of over 90 were engaged in work involving theories, while seven had had previous training in party schools. Among the 23 who failed, 19, or 85 percent of the total, had never had any training in a party school. Among the 63 candidates, 17, or 73.9 percent of those who failed, were engaged in administrative or practical work. Most of them had not paid sufficient attention to the study of theories.

Investigation into the circumstances described above points to the fact that it is a matter of the greatest urgency to strengthen training, to educate in a systematic manner the large number of cadres in Marxism and the thoughts of Mao Zedong and to raise the level of understanding of political theories so that we may better implement the lines and policies of the party in this new era and fulfill its new historic mission.

## Intensified Theoretical Education Urged

Changsha XINXIANG PINGLUN [New Hunan Commentary] in Chinese No 7, Jul 82  
pp 13-14

[Commentary by Zhuo Duo [0587 1122]: "The Strengthening of Theoretical Education for Cadres Is a Matter of Great Urgency"]

[Text] An investigation into the entrance tests for responsible basic level cadres at a certain party school has revealed that, from a certain point of view, the standard of cadres in the knowledge of theories at the present time leaves a great deal to be desired and that it is far from adequate for meeting the needs of the situation. Unless improvement is brought about in the situation, our endeavors are bound to be seriously hampered.

As is well known, Marxism and Mao Zedong Thought constitute the basis of our thinking in the realm of theories and form the fundamental principles and tenets on which our party approaches and deals with problems. The entire range of work and activities undertaken by the party and the direction, the channel and all the policies and principles of our socialist endeavors are tied in with Marxism. Our endeavors are the products of the amalgamation of the universal truth of Marxism and our practical experiences. If our cadres do not even have an understanding of the universal truth of Marxism, how can they be expected to hold fast to Marxism, to use it as a guide to their thoughts and actions, and to analyze and deal with a variety of problems of a practical nature? How can they be expected to have a profound understanding of and to enforce in a conscientious manner the various principles and policies of the party and to develop a positive and creative attitude in going about their work? There are comrades among the rank and file who, in dealing with problems, tend to make a one-sided point of view, to jump to unwarranted conclusions and to go to extremes. Other comrades tend to overlook the importance of investigation and research, to fail to pay attention to the actual circumstances, to get into the habit of going about their work lackadaisically and to approach problems in a conservative and arbitrary manner. From the basic theoretical point of view in the realm of ideology, all these aberrations stem from the absence of scientific guidance provided by Marxism and the thoughts of Mao Zedong.

In this new historical era, large numbers of cadres have assumed direct responsibility for the fulfillment of the historic mission by providing leadership to and by organizing tens of millions of people in the implementation of the four modernizations. In our unprecedented endeavors, there are many new problems and new situations which we have to cope with, to study and to find a solution for on the basis of Marxism. In the field of ideology, the new demands imposed on us in the actual business of living have offered a sharp contradiction to the lack of systematic training in the principles of Marxism on the part of large numbers of cadres and the serious inadequacy of their preparation in matters of a theoretical nature. Unless there is an upgrading of the standard of the cadres in the understanding of theories, it will be extremely difficult for us to fulfill our arduous



mission in this new era. For this reason, the strengthening of theoretical education for the benefit of the cadres is an important political task that brooks no delay.

What merits our particular attention at this point is how to cope with the problem of getting leadership cadres to appreciate the importance of theoretical training. A leader who is clear-headed, far-sighted and dedicated to the revolutionary cause should set a personal example in strengthening the organization and leadership of cadres in the study of theories. He should set a personal example by taking the lead in the acquisition of new knowledge, more knowledge and a more thorough knowledge in order to provide an impetus to the rank and file cadres in the pursuit of their studies.

In order to do a good job of getting large numbers of cadres to engage in the study of theories, it is necessary to adopt practical and effective measures to establish a proper theoretical education system for the cadres. The "investigation" has made clear that the lack of a correct, clear-cut and unequivocal understanding of Marxism and even the gaucherie displayed by certain cadres are the direct result of the lack of a systematic course of education in Marxist theories. In the early period of the establishment of the republic, we had adopted a proper system for theoretical studies with creditable results. This system, however, fell into disuse in the latter part of the 1950's. Later, the practice of "taking the short cut," of "learning and applying with full vigor" and of "achieving immediate results from prompt action" espoused by Lin Biao in the name of pragmatism put an end to the method and system of studying Marxism in an integrated manner. The dismantlement and distortion of theories by the "gang of four" dealt a further blow to theoretical education. Thus, some of the comrades of long standing who previously studied theories have gradually come to forget or to have a vague idea of what they learned because of the lack of a solid foundation, long neglect and the onslaught of a series of upheavals. Some of the younger comrades, for lack of any contact with matters relating to theories, or because they had been steeped in the theories of the "Cultural Revolution," either have no knowledge or a hazy understanding of theories. In view of this situation, it is utterly essential to establish a proper theoretical education system, to make available to cadres the opportunity to study the basic theories of Marxism and the history of the party in a systematic and organized manner, to help them to master correctly the theories of Marxism and Mao Zedong Thoughts, and to adopt their standpoint, their position and their method to analyze and to deal with various problems in the course of their actual work. For this reason, proper theoretical education should be made an important part of the development of a corps of cadres and their grades should be given consideration in their rating and employment. Furthermore, the organization of theoretical education for cadres should be made a criterion for assessing the work of the party committees so that a proper theoretical education system may be maintained and perfected and that desirable results may be achieved.

9621

CSO: 4005/1188

SOUTH KOREA SYMPOSIUM ON NORTHEAST ASIA HELD

OWI00417 Taipei CNA in English 0305 GMT 10 Sep 82

[Text] Taipei, 10 Sep (CNA)--Kim Chong-kon, Korean ambassador to the Republic of China, said Thursday in a symposium held here that in an effort to maintain peace in northeast Asia, the Republic of China and Korea are bound to maintain their traditional culture and work hand in hand to promote economic development of the two countries and resist the communist regimes in the region.

The third Sino-Korean academic symposium opened Thursday at the Ambassador Hotel in Taipei and was chaired by Chang King-yuh, director of the Institute of International Relations of National Chengchi University. Kim Hong-kon and Ou-yang Hsun, president of National Chengchi University, both made remarks on the occasion.

Kim said that facing the threats from communist regimes, scholars from the Republic of China and Korea should exchange their experience, knowledge and information to strengthen the common interest and their cooperative relationship of the two countries.

Ou-yang Hsun said that the Republic of China and Korea should solidify their powers of defence to maintain peace in the north Asian region.

Chang King-yuh said it is important for the Chinese and Korean scholars to make clear the aggressive intentions and qualities of communist regimes and hence to attract support from freedom-loving people at home and abroad.

There are eight papers to be presented in the two-day symposium by the Chinese and Korean scholars, which focused on "Communist Regimes and Problems in the Northeast Asia Region."

Chou Pa-li, professor at National Chengchi University, Thursday presented a paper on "The Unified Front Tactics of Communist China and the Problems of the Unification of China." Following Chou, two other papers were presented by Korean Chong Yong-suk and Yim Tae-sun, dealing with "The Strategic Position of Korea in Northeast Asia Under the Threat of a Communist Regime," and "The Problems of the Unification of Korea." Over 40 scholars and authorities from the Republic of China and Korea attended the symposium.

CSO: 4000/192

PACTS WITH ECUADOR, HAITI, PANAMA EXTENDED

OW100357 Taipei CNA in English 0257 GMT 10 Sep 82

[Text] Taipei, 10 Sep (CNA)--The Executive Yuan Thursday approved to extend for two more years the agricultural technical or fishery technical agreements between the Republic of China and Ecuador, Panama, and Haiti.

The ROC-Ecuadorean Agricultural Technical Cooperation Agreement was signed in Quito, capital of Ecuador, on 18 September 1978 for an effective period of two years. It was extended in 1980 for two more years and will expire on 18 September this year.

The ROC's Agricultural Technical Mission there has been so satisfactory that the Ecuadorean Government has asked the ROC to further extend the cooperation agreement for another two years until 1984.

The ROC-Panamanian Fishery Technical Cooperation Agreement was signed on 8 October 1973, after three extensions of the two-year pact it expired on 26 August. Recently, the Panamanian Government notified the Chinese ambassador to Panama, Tseng Hsien-kuei, to extend the pact for another two years.

The ROC-Haitian Agricultural Technical Agreement was signed and exchanged on 31 May 1972, also valid for a period of two years. After four extensions, it will expire on 26 October.

The Chinese ambassador to Haiti, Li Nan-hsing, notified on 1 July on behalf of the Chinese Government to Haitian secretary of state for foreign affairs, Jean Robert Estime, proposing to extend the agreement for two more years and was accepted by the Haitian Government.

As a result, the pact will become effective on 27 October.

CSO: 4000/192

#### BRIEFS

COSTA RICA SPECIAL ENVOY--Taipei, 4 Sep (CNA)--Fernando Sanchez Ruphuy, special envoy of the Republic of Costa Rica, and Mrs Sanchez arrived in Taipei Saturday afternoon for a 3-month-long visit. The purpose of Sanchez's visit is to promote friendship and cooperation between the Republic of China and the Republic of Costa Rica. While here, they will call on government officials and study the cultural, economic and agricultural developments of this country. [Text] [OW100901 Taipei CNA in English 1331 GMT 5 Sep 82]

COSTA RICAN ENVOY RECEIVED--Taipei, 14 Sep (CNA)--Premier Sun Yun-suan Tuesday morning received Sanchez Ruphuy, special envoy of President Luis Alberto Monge of the Republic of Costa Rica, and his wife. The Ruphuys were accompanied by Rodrigo Sanchez, ambassador of the Republic of Costa Rica to the Republic of China, and Ou Hung-lien, director of the Central and South America Department of the ROC Foreign Ministry. The Ruphuys will stay here for three months and will visit the export processing zones. [Text] [OW142038 Taipei CNA in English 1421 GMT 14 Sep 82]

PEACE PLAN GAINS SUPPORT--Taipei, 15 Sep (CNA)--The Republic of China's Government supports the eight-point peace plan adopted at the 12th Arab Summit, Liu Ta-jen, spokesman for the Ministry of Foreign Affairs, said Wednesday. Answering a press inquiry about the Chinese Government's position on the plan, Liu said, "We consider that the eight-point peace plan is the fulfillment of the peace proposal made by His Majesty Fahd ibn 'Abd al-'Aziz al Sa'ud, king of Saudi Arabia, last November, and can resolve the Middle East problem through just and reasonable means in order to achieve a lasting peace in that region." The government of the Republic of China wholeheartedly supports the eight-point peace plan and wishes to express its admiration for the Kingdom of Saudi Arabia's diplomatic achievement, he said. [Text] [OW151447 Taipei CNA in English 1400 GMT 15 Sep 82]

SUPPLEMENT EMPHASIZES WAR CRIMES--Taipei, 18 Sep (CNA)--The Education Ministry Friday instructed the National Institute for Compilation and Translation to publish as soon as possible a supplement to the history textbooks. The supplement will narrate in detail the history from 1931 to 1945--from the Mukden incident to the end of the resistance war against Japan--and is expected to be published in two months, Vice Education Minister Li Mo said.

Li said that contents of the current history textbooks do not lay emphasis on Japanese war crimes and tyrannous treatment of Chinese during World War II. In view of the Japanese Government's move to distort the history, the Government of the Republic of China has to remind all Chinese and the younger generations of the Japanese aggression against China, Li added. [Text]  
OW180337 Taipei CNA in English 0253 GMT 18 Sep 82]

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